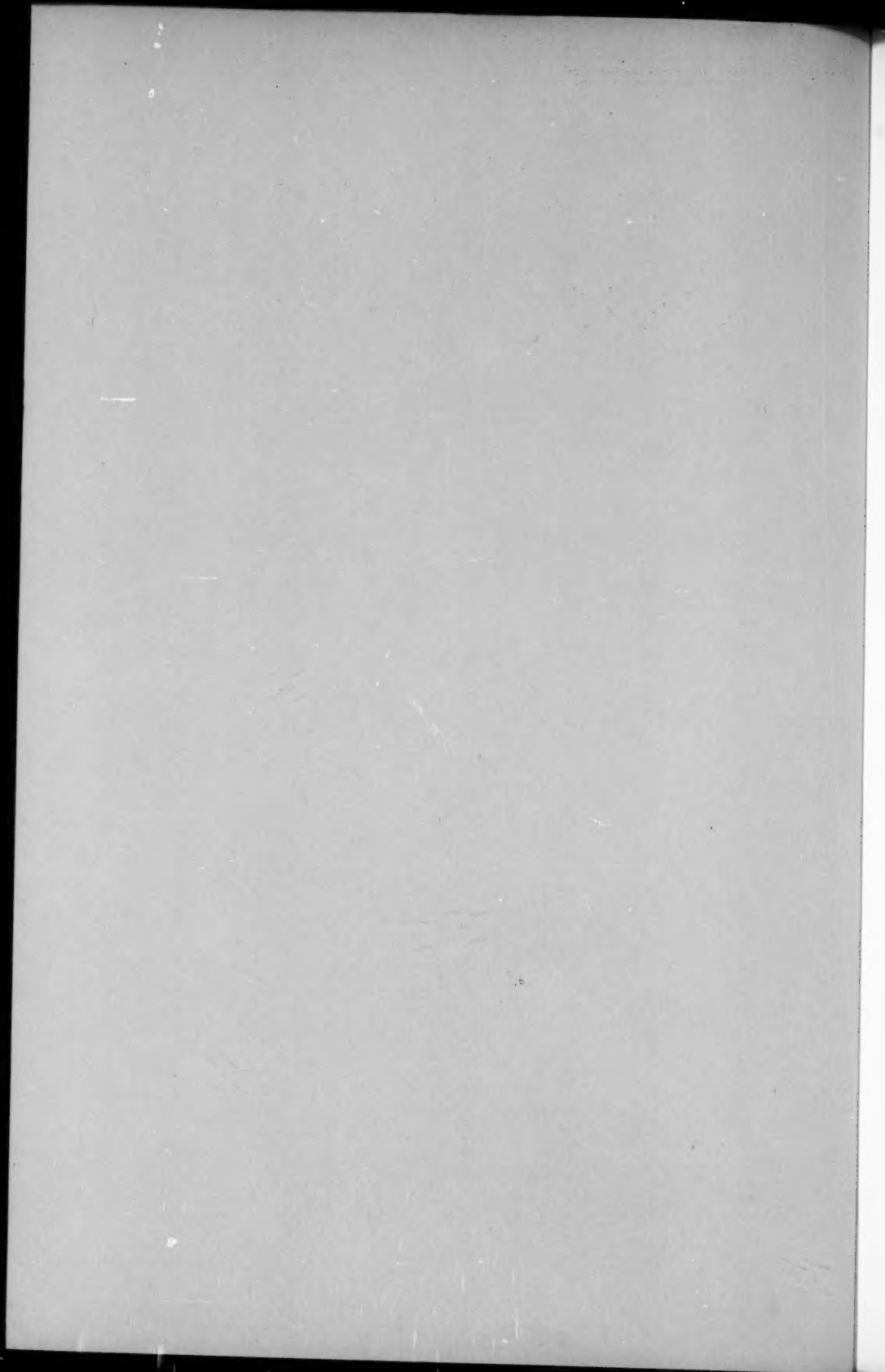


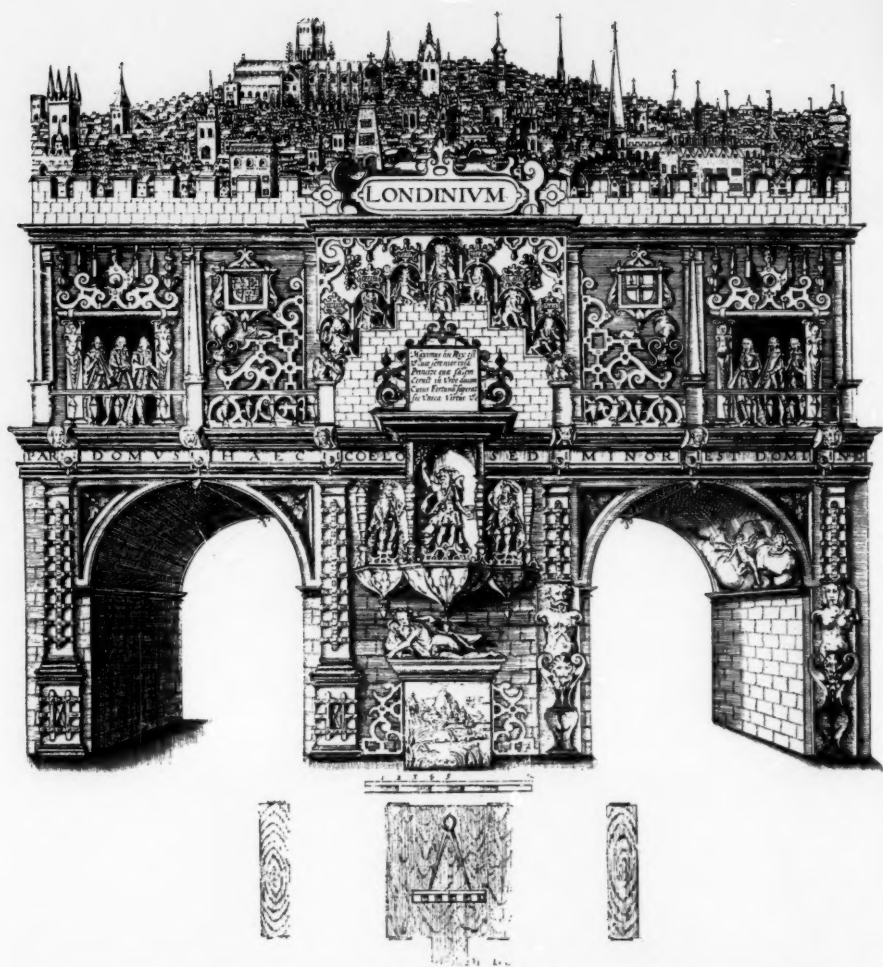
SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY



Published by The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.
VOLUME XII WINTER 1961 NUMBER 1







"Londinium", the arch in Fenchurch Street, the first of the pegmes in Stephen Harrison's *Archs of Triumph* (1604), reproduced from the copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library. See p. 86.

SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY

VOLUME XII

WINTER, 1961

NUMBER 1

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SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY is published in Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn in New York City by the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., 322 East 57th Street, New York, New York. Membership in the Association includes the annual subscription to the QUARTERLY. The subscription rate is \$8.00 a year, postpaid, with single copies available at two dollars and fifty cents. SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY is entered as second-class matter at the New York Post Office.

Applications for membership in the Association and all business communications and changes of address should be sent to Mr. John Fleming, Secretary-Treasurer, 322 East 57th Street, New York City. Articles intended for publication and books to be reviewed should be addressed to Dr. James G. McManaway, Editor, The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington 3, D. C.

The articles in this Journal are indexed in *The International Index to Periodicals*, New York, New York.

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Timon of Athens

E. A. J. HONIGMANN

Because of special difficulties affecting its text, dating and sources, the interpretation of *Timon* has suffered, perhaps unnecessarily, until quite recent times. In this paper, commencing with some notes on the sources, I shall suggest a closer alignment of *Timon* with *Antony and Cleopatra* and with *Troilus and Cressida*, and continue with some speculation about the completeness and significance of the play.

Sources. Two *Timon* traditions meet in Shakespeare's tragedy. (1) Plutarch's *Lives* gave a short account of Timon's misanthropy and the Athenian background (in the "Marcus Antonius" and the "Alcibiades"). From Plutarch sprang derivatives, Pedro Mexía's *La Silva de varia lección* (1540), William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (1566), and others.¹ (2) Lucian's dialogue, *Timon, or the Misanthrope*, sketched in Timon's prodigality, his flatterers, his long railing speeches when reduced to poverty, his discovery of gold while digging, his subsequent stoning of the parasites who return to batten on him, etc. Lucianic derivatives include Boiardo's play, *Timone* (late 15th century), and an English academic MS. play of no certain date (the "MS. *Timon*", Dyce MS. 52).

With Plutarch Shakespeare was certainly acquainted, since he drew on North's translation of the *Lives* (1579, etc.) for earlier plays—*Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Julius Caesar*; and Painter seems to have inspired a picturesque detail in *Timon* (V.i.219-223).² But no pre-Shakespearean English translation of Lucian is known: we must assume, therefore, that Shakespeare read Lucian in French, Italian or Latin versions, or in the Greek original, or that Boiardo's by no means widely circulated play transmitted the relevant matter from the dialogue, or that Shakespeare could lay hands on a lost English Lucian. This last theory of a lost source, to which various critics have resorted,³ gains some strength from the resemblances between Shakespeare's and the MS. *Timon* for which no extant source gives a hint: especially from the coincidence that both plays stage a "mock-banquet" which terminates with the throwing of food

¹ Cf. Willard Farnham, *Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier* (1950), chap. 2, for a description of the growth of the *Timon* story.

² Shakespeare is quoted throughout from *The Oxford Shakespeare*, ed. W. J. Craig, 1907. For the Painter contact cf. J. C. Maxwell's note on V.i.214-218 (*The Life of Timon of Athens*, 1957, p. 166).

³ R. Warwick Bond contended that Boiardo's *Timone* was Shakespeare's Lucianic authority: cf. "Lucian and Boiardo in 'Timon of Athens'" (*M.L.R.* XXVI (1931), 52-68). J. C. Maxwell, in his admirable introduction, felt "scepticism" about Bond's claim (pp. xviii-xix), especially as "no edition of Boiardo's play later than 1518 is recorded, and none at all published outside Italy." See also Georges A. Bonnard, "Note Sur les Sources de *Timon of Athens*" (*Etude Anglaise*, VII (1954), 65).

(stones, water) at the guests, and both give Timon a "faithful steward" who repines at his prodigality but seeks him out to help him after his ruin. For, since Shakespeare's *Timon* remained apparently unperformed, and unpublished till 1623, since the academic MS. *Timon* would be equally unheard-of, a lost common source might be the easiest explanation of the surprising links between the two plays. In this reasoning, rather too compressed in the above introductory survey, there are several jumps to which I shall return.

Where, now, can we enlarge the picture of the two traditions? With the one, the Plutarchan, I think that it is possible to go much further than the miniature life of Timon in the "Marcus Antonius" and the snippets in the "Alcibiades". The first of these two lives (together with its parallel, the "Demetrius") being a study of riot and excessive bounty, the second (with its parallel, the "Marcus Coriolanus") presenting a "renegade against his country", the question arises whether these two themes, so prominent in *Timon*, were reinforced from hitherto unsuspected parts of the two sets of lives.

As *Timon*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus* all belong to more or less the same years there is nothing inherently unlikely in such cross-pollination: and some revealing clues immediately corroborate one's expectations. By far the most interesting of these neglected sources is the "Marcus Antonius", from which Shakespeare seems to have lifted, consciously or unconsciously, much that was to prove serviceable for his play.

(1) It has long been known that Shakespeare's Greek and Roman names, when added to or altered from his source, were frequently extracted from Plutarch,⁴ but, so far as I am aware, no one has shown how many of those in *Timon* were borrowed from a single life, a *Roman* life which wafted into the Greek story so much alien atmosphere. The Timon anecdote in the "Marcus Antonius" names only three principals, Timon, Alcibiades and Apemantus (VI. 382-383);⁵ the "Alcibiades" adds only Timandra (II. 169). Six other names come straight from the "Marcus Antonius": Lucius (VI. 319), Hortensius (322), Ventidius (335), Flavius (349), Lucilius (380), Philotas (329). This can be no accident.

(2) Georges A. Bonnard observed that the anachronistic reference to decimation in *Timon* V. iv. 31-35, probably derives from Plutarch's description of Antonius' punishment of his soldiers at the siege of Phraata ("Antonius was so offended withall, that he executed the Decimation" (VI. 344)).⁶ Plutarch's second mention of the practice in the same life would have been a better illustration, for here Antonius' soldiers, after a defeat,

to cleere them selves, willingly offred to take the lotts of *Decimation* if he thought good, or otherwise, to receive what kind of punishment it should

⁴ W. W. Skeat, *Shakespeare's Plutarch* (1875), pp. xvii-xviii, showed that Shakespeare transferred Roman and Greek names from various lives to his plays, tracing, among others, those in *Timon*; R. A. Law, "On Certain Proper Names in Shakespeare" (*Studies in English*, University of Texas, XXX (1951), 61-65) extended the list; but neither sought for names in the "Marcus Antonius" in the first place, so that neither fully grasped the significance of this life.

⁵ Plutarch's *Lives* are quoted from the reprint of the first English translation (1579) by Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1928 (8 vols.)—which is not completely faithful to the original in some details of spelling.

⁶ Bonnard, p. 62.

please him to laye upon them, so that he would forget any more to mislike, or to be offended with them. (VI. 351)

In the play, too, such an *offer* is made, enlarged to "What thou wilt" (V. iv. 44), while Plutarch's word "offended", used in both passages, reappears in lines 35 and 42.

(3) Both in general description and particular incidents Antonius' riot and Timon's bounty resemble each other.

(a) [When Antonius "easely fell againe to his old licentious life", he became a prey to parasites and flatterers:] all these flocked in his court, and bare the whole sway: and after that, all went awry. For every one gave them selves to riot and excesse, when they saw he delighted in it . . . (VI. 323)

(b) . . . in the citie of EPHEBUS, women attyed as they goe in the feastes and sacrifice of *Bacchus*, came out to meete him with such solemnities and ceremonies, as are then used. (VI. 323-24)

The women who honored Antonius may have given Shakespeare the idea for the ladies who visit Timon ("come freely/ To gratulate thy plenteous bosom" (I. ii. 132-133)) and entertain him "*as Amazons, with lutes in their hands, dancing and playing*" (I. ii. 139, s.d.).

(c) The introduction of Cupid with the masque of ladies (I. ii. 130 ff.) may owe something to Cleopatra's spectacular pageantry on the river Cydnus immortalized in *Antony and Cleopatra* ("The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne . . ." (II. i. 199 ff.)), for here too a part was played by "pretie faire boyes apparelled as painters doe set forth god *Cupide*".⁷

(d) [Antonius held that] the greatnes and magnificence of the Empire of ROME appeared most, not where the ROMANES tooke, but where they gave much. (VI. 340)

I gave it freely ever; and there's none

Can truly say he gives, if he receives (*Timon* I. ii. 10-11)

These prodigal views on the relative merits of giving and receiving go together.

(e) [Antonius] over simply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without suttletie. (VI. 324)

So Timon's steward reproaches him for not inspecting his accounts, brushing them aside with the assurance that he found them in his man's honesty (II. ii. 142-145). With this trustfulness went Antonius' "noble minde" (VI. 325): and "noble Timon" (I. i. 114) becomes one of the refrains of the tragedy, echoing ironically through it to the knell—"Dead/ Is noble Timon" (V. iv. 79-80).

(f) *Antonius* did easely geve away great seignories, realmes, and mighty nations unto some private men. (VI. 339-340; cf. *A&C*. V. ii. 90-92)

Methinks, I could deal kingdoms to my friends,

And ne'er be weary. (*Timon*, I. ii. 229-230)

(g) Though Timon's liking for sharp answers emerges in Plutarch and in Lucian, both authors give the impression that this acidity is a consequence of

⁷ Perhaps Alcibiades' "gilded scutcheon, wherein he had no cognizaunce nor ordinary devise of the ATHENIANS, but only had the image of *Cupide* in it, holding lightning in his hande" (Plutarch, "Alcibiades", II. 126) should be mentioned here, though this is not an "entertainment" with Cupids as in the "Marcus Antonius" and in the play.

his ruin, one manifestation of his misanthropy. Shakespeare's Timon, on the other hand, enjoys witty and mocking exchanges even before his fall (cf. I. i. 207-220), and Antonius too relished such sallies:

For a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others. (VI. 325)

(4) Many minor threads link the "Marcus Antonius" and *Timon*, as for instance the notion that covetousness will lead men to cut their friends' throats.

For there were Villens of their owne company, who cut their *fellowes throates* for the money they had. (VI. 356)

There's much example for't; the *fellow* that
Sits next him now, parts bread with him, and pledges
The breath of him with a divided draught,
Is the readiest man to kill him . . .

Great men should drink with harness on their *throats*. (I. ii. 48-54)

Commonplaces such as these, abounding in both, do at least underline their thematic kinship, even if direct semination, which the other contacts of the two stories makes probable, cannot always be asserted.

(5) Finally, a number of details found in other possible sources or analogues and also in the "Marcus Antonius" must be taken into consideration.

(a) The most arresting is the "faithful steward", whom we meet only in Shakespeare, in the academic MS. *Timon*, and, less fully developed, in the "Marcus Antonius". In view of the possibility that the MS. *Timon* may be post-Shakespearian (cf. p. 11 ff. below), Plutarch's digression about Antonius' cofferer should not be disregarded.

In this place I will shewe you one example onely of his [Antonius'] wonderful liberalitie. He commaunded one day his coferer that kept his money, to give a friend of his 25. Myriades: which the ROMANES call in their tongue, Decies. His coferer marveling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this money in a heape together, to shewe him what a marvelous masse of money it was. *Antonius* seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his coferer aunswered him, it was the money he willed him to give unto his friend. Then *Antonius* perceiving the spight of his man, I thought, sayd he, that Decies had bene a greater summe of money then it is, for this is but a *trifle*: & therefore he gave his friend as much more another tyme. (VI. 302-303)

The well-meant officiousness of Flavius, Timon's steward, who complains of his master's "empty coffer" (I. ii. 202), brings upon him similar snubs and "no slight checks" (*Timon* I. ii. 168-170, 185-214; II. ii. 146-152), and Timon disparages his own munificence with the loftiness of Antonius: "Here, my lord, a *trifle* of our love" (I. ii. 216).

(b) Lucian makes Timon claim

Après que j'ay bien eu esleué plusieurs Atheniens, & les ay rendus riches de trespauures qu'ils estoient, & après auoir suruenu à tous les indigens,

signamment espanché vne fois toutes mes richesses pour les affaires de mes amis . . .⁸

but hints at nothing comparable to the luck of Shakespeare's Lucilius, "one which holds a trencher", whom Timon sets up to "build his fortune" (I. i. 112-152). The same liberality to a servant made Antonius show "curteous, and gentle":

As he gave a citizens house of MAGNESIA unto a cooke, bicause (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine supper. (VI. 324)

(c) So, too, as against Lucian's very general words, "rendus riches de trespauures" (cf. (b) above), Timon's extravagant gifts at his banquets (I. ii. 178-180, 200 ff., 216, 219-221) recall Plutarch's description of Cleopatra's birthday celebrations where gifts were also showered on guests.

she exceeded all measure of sumptuousnes and magnificence: so that the ghests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poore, went away rich. ("Marcus Antonius", VI. 386).

Enough has now been said to show that *Timon*, the immediate source of which in Plutarch was so much more concise than the majority of those used by Shakespeare, could have been enriched by the simple process of grafting from the "Marcus Antonius". At this very time Shakespeare transformed Holinshed's life of Macbeth into a full-length play and supplemented a shortish source narrative with incidents from unrelated reigns—in exactly the same manner. And did Plutarch not point the way? His Antonius declared that

he would lead *Timons* life, bicause he had the like wrong offered him . . . for the unthankfulness of those he had done good unto, and whom he tooke to be his frendes, he was angry with all men, and would *trust no man*. (VI. 382)

Shakespeare's pondering of this collocation of Timon and Antonius seems to be reflected in his echo: "I wonder men dare *trust themselves with men*" (*Timon* I. ii. 45).

That *Timon* also mirrors some themes of *Coriolanus* has long been recognized. Plutarch gave Shakespeare no authority for Alcibiades' military hostilities before the walls of Athens, nor for his more or less compulsory entry. In the Athenian's summons of "this coward and lascivious town" (V. iv. 1 ff.) the passion of Coriolanus against his native Rome is reproduced. While Shakespeare's Alcibiades, again, seems to be conceived as a professional soldier (cf. I. ii. 76 ff., III. v. 40 ff.), whose sole interest is war, as with Coriolanus, Plutarch's Alcibiades figures in many other capacities⁹.

⁸ *Les Oeuvres de Lucian de Samosate*, tr. Filbert Bretin, Paris, 1582/3, p. 24. Cf. pp. 9 ff.

⁹ It should be noted that both these features, diverging from Plutarch's Alcibiades, might be due to the reading of *The Historie of Iustine*, tr. G. W., 1606. In the fifth book of this *Historie* Alcibiades becomes the focal actor, almost exclusively as a general, as the "Argument" makes clear: "Alcibiades willingly committeth himselfe to banishment. He compelleth the King of Lacedemon to make warre vpon the Athenians, . . . He causeth the Cities of Asia to revolt from the Athenians. The Lacedemonians lay wait to kill him. He escapeth . . . He flyeth to Tissaphernes . . . Ambassadors from Athens come vnto him, He is called home into his owne countrey and made Admirall. He ouercommeth the Lacedemonians and is ioyfully receiued of his Cittizens. He receiueh a losse by his owne ouersight, and againe banisheth himselfe . . ." (sig. Fr^b). Here, too, Alcibiades' hostility

It may be, too, that the banishment of Alcibiades, richly deserved in Plutarch's story, if we may believe the "inditement framed against him"¹⁰, was modelled by Shakespeare on Coriolanus'. The last straw that finally breaks Coriolanus' patience and leads immediately to his banishment "for life", the unexpected charge that he divided the spoils of war among his soldiers instead of making "the common distribution" (II. 198), resembles Alcibiades' support of a soldier against the citizens. More significantly, the reactions of the two banished men are just about identical.

[Coriolanus] was so caried away with the vehemencie of anger, and desire of revenge, that he had no sence nor feeling of the hard state he was in. . . . For when sorow . . . is set a fyre, then it is converted into spite and malice . . . the chollericke man is so altered, and mad in his actions, as a man set a fyre (II. 199-200)

So Alcibiades:

I am worse than mad . . .
It comes not ill; I hate not to be banish'd;
It is a cause worthy my spleen and fury,
That I may strike at Athens. (*Timon* III. v. 108-116)

Plutarch's Alcibiades throws in his lot, after hesitating "a good season in the cittie of ARGOS", with the enemies of Athens, the Spartans—his emotions are left undescribed, and there is no indication of an immediate, Coriolanus-like vindictive fury.

Just as the precise nature of Shakespeare's dependence upon Plutarch can be easily misjudged, his use of Lucian may have been more extensive than has been thought. J. Q. Adams probably spoke for the majority in asserting that "the story must have been known to the dramatist only in its broadest outlines", as he could trace "no close borrowing, no following of detail"¹¹. If J. C. Maxwell veers in the other direction, concluding that close parallels to Lucian's text are few, though conceding that it would be "more likely that Shakespeare read Lucian for himself than that he merely knew of his version at second hand" (p. xviii), he still underestimates the multifariousness of Shakespeare's debts.

Though there was, of course, as J. C. Maxwell speculates, "nothing to prevent Shakespeare from consulting some more learned friend if he found it necessary", a Latin, Italian or French Lucian would naturally be more con-

against the rich Athenians emerges much more strongly than in Plutarch, for he threatens them with war: "[Alcibiades] immediately sent word vnto *Athens*, that he would presently come thither with all his hoast, and take the gouernment out of the foure hundred Senators hands (euen by violence) vnlesse they would willingly make surrender thereof vnto him of their own accord.

"This his message troubled all the chiefe and great men of the City exceedingly, insomuch that they attempted to betray the towne vnto the *Lacedemonians*, but perceiuing that they could not bring their purposes to passe, they voluntarily and willingly forsooke their Countrey . . ." (F3^a).

Plutarch did not go into so much detail, the impression consequently differs somewhat: "Shortly after, the four hundred noble men that had usurped the authoritie and government of *ATHENS*, were utterly driven away and overthrown, by meanes of the friendly ayde, & assistance that *Alcibiades* friends gave those that tooke the peoples parte. So the citizens were very well pleased with *Alcibiades* . . ." (II. 148).

¹⁰ Cf. Plutarch, II. 131-139, for Alcibiades' blasphemous mockery of his city's religion.

¹¹ J. Q. Adams, "The *Timon* Plays" (*J.E.G.P.*, IX (1910), 524). Cf. also fn. 14 for Deighton's Lucian-Timon "parallels".

venient to read up—even the professional translators were not above such shortcuts. Although, I repeat, Shakespeare may well have looked at the Greek too, Filbert Bretin's *Les Oeuvres de Lucian* (Paris, 1582/3)¹² seems his likeliest source. I subjoin some similar passages which seem to me to enforce the same conclusion as would close verbal parallels.

(a) lors que le foye de ce miserable estoit rongé par tant de uautours (*sic*) il les estimoit ses amis fidelles & bien affectionnez enuers soy: eux qui estoient seulement amis de la viande. Or apres que ceux cy ont eu entierement despouillé les os, & rongé tout autour, voire s'il y auoit quelque moëlle au dedans l'ont succe fort diligemment, ils s'en sont fuiz: le delaissans tout sec & decoupé à la racine. (P. 25)

what a number
Of men eat Timon, and he sees them not.
It grieves me to see so many dip their meat
In one man's blood; and all the madness is,
He cheers them up too. (*Timon* I. ii. 40-44)
[Friends] numberless upon me stuck as leaves
Do on the oak, have with one winter's brush
Fell from their boughs and left me open, bare
For every storm that blows. (*Timon* IV. iii. 264-267)

Shakespeare's meat and tree images for his hero come from Lucian.

(b) Timon's pretence, in his interview with the two senators (V. i. 142-217), that he is about to reconcile himself with the Athenians, dashing their hopes again and again ("I thank them; and would send them back the plague") must be connected with the declaration of Lucian's Timon:

Que si i' apperçoy aucun qui brusle dans le feu, & me requiere de l'estaindre, qu'estaindre le puisse-je avecques poix & huile: Et si vn fleuve en emportoit aucun en ses ondes, & cestuy tendant les mains requeroit que ie le reprinse, ie le submergerois (p. 34).

"May I put out the fire—with pitch and oil"—exactly the Schadenfreude and confounding of falsely raised hopes of Shakespeare's misanthrope.

(c) Since the animal imagery in *Timon* has elicited so much attention, it may be noted that Lucian brings into his dialogue dogs, cats, wolves, horses, bulls, goats, an ass, a wild boar, crows, swallows, swans, vultures, a kite, eels, snakes, as well as les oiseaux, une beste, boeufz,—many of them being mentioned several times over.

(d) For the suddenness of Timon's fall, a reversal too patly engineered, according to some, Lucian again gave his authority:

Quoy? quelle soudaine mutation? Est-ce cest honneste homme? ce riche que tant d'amis enuironnoient? . . . (P. 25)

(e) The idea for the stream of visitors and messengers in Acts IV and V, particularly the two senators despatched from Athens ("And send forth us, to

¹² Cf. p. 7. If we prefer to postulate a lost English source, this would probably derive from the French, like North's *Plutarch*, so that the following remarks would still apply.

make their sorrow'd render" (V.i.154)), evidently goes back to Timon's decision: "[Je] ne veux recevoir les messagers par eux enuoyez" (p. 34).

(f) The prominence given to the Poet at the beginning of the tragedy is sometimes accounted for by the part played by the orator Demeas near the end in Lucian's dialogue. But we should also remember Lucian's cynicisms in Timon's opening speech, where Jupiter is addressed by whatever name

te donnent les esperdues Poëtes, signamment quand ils resuent sur leurs vers: car lors tu es diuersement par eux nommé, affin de fournir à la cadence de leur poëme . . . (P. 23)

Shakespeare's Poet is preoccupied with not dissimilar technicalities ("my free drift/Halts not particularly, but moves itself/In a wide sea of wax . . ." (I. i. 46-48)).

(g) Seeing that the majority of the verbal parallels cited by Deighton¹³ between *Timon* and Lucian's Greek come from Act IV, scene iii, I quote another passage, from Bretin's French, apparently utilized for the same scene.

[When Timon's wealth gave out, his parasites] s'en sent fuiz: le delaissans . . . ne le recognoissans plus, ny le daignans regarder, ny luy suruenans en rien, ny luy donnant chose aucune de leur costé. Pour ces causes, se faisant terrillon, & se vestant de peaux . . . il s'en est fuy . . . tout melancolié de ces meschans qui ayans esté par luy enrichiz, passent maintenant fort orgueilleusement par aupres de luy, voire mesme ne font pas semblant de sçauoir s'il s'appelle Timon ou non. (P. 25)

This is in thee a nature but infected;
A poor unmanly melancholy sprung
From change of fortune. Why this spade? this place?
This slave-like habit? and these looks of care?
Thy flatterers yet wear silk, drink wine, lie soft,
Hug their diseases'd perfumes, and have forgot
That ever Timon was. (IV. iii. 203-209)

(h) Timon wishes the Athenians to be told of his gold, and to envy him:

Au reste, ie voudrois pour grand cas qu'on sceut que cecy s'est fait, sçauoir est que ie suis riche outre mesure: car ceste chose les feroit estrangler de despit. Mais qu'est-ce cy? Hau, quel bruit? ils accourent de toutes parts . . . (P. 34)

So *Timon*: "Tell them there I have gold" (IV. iii. 290). Later Apemantus says that he will inform the Athenians:

I'll say thou'st gold:
Thou wilt be throng'd to shortly.
Tim. Throng'd to?
Apem. Ay.
Tim. Thy back, I prithee. (*Timon* IV. iii. 395-397)

And "ils accourent" at once, as in Lucian: "More things like men!" (1.400).

Surely no one will now maintain with J. Q. Adams that Lucian's dialogue

¹³ K. Deighton, *Timon of Athens* (Arden Edition), 1905, pp. xxviii-xxx.

"must have been known to the dramatist only in its broadest outlines." Shakespeare remembered far too much. But from which version? Bretin's French did not always follow the Greek faithfully, and one of his departures may disclose him as Shakespeare's creditor. For when Lucian's Hermes takes "Plutus" to enrich Timon, Bretin's Mercure takes "Richesse"¹⁴: the long discussion of the corrupting love of money consequently centers not on a man but a woman ("bonne amie", p. 28). All the overtones are thus changed, Richesse emerging as a deformed and revolting prostitute, quite different from the traditional Mammon-figure:

MERC. Respon moy encore cecy: comment se peut-il faire qu'estant aueugle (car il le faut dire) d'auantage pasle, & mal dispose des iambes, tu as tant d'amis que chacun iette son regard sus toy? & s'ils te possèdent ils s'estiment estre bien-heureux: que s'ils en sont frustrez, ils ne scauroient viure. Certainement i'en ay cogneu plusieurs lesquels estoient si passionnez de ton amour, qu'ils se sont precipitez en mer profonde d'une haute roche, pensans estre hays de toy, par ce que tu n'auois commencé à les regarder aucunement . . . (RICHESSSE) à fin que ne sois du tout difforme, ie me presente à eux portant le masque d'un personnage fort amiable, tout d'or diapré de pierres precieuses & esmaillé de plusieurs couleurs. Or eux qui pensent appercevoir la beauté de mon propre visage, sont espris de mon amour, & sont perdus s'ils n'en iouissent. Que si quelqu'un me monstroît à eux toute nuë, sans doute ils se condamneroient eux mesmes d'auoir esté aueuglez en cela, & d'aimer choses si difformes & nullement amiables. (P. 30)

Does this not take us into the purlicue of Timon's strikingly frank interview with Phrynia and Timandra? Only the French or Italian versions or a derivative could supply this twist to Lucian, which Shakespeare makes one of the illuminating metaphors of his attitude to gold:

Come, damned earth,
Thou common whore of mankind (IV. iii. 41-42)¹⁵

A lost source? Once the scope of Shakespeare's dependence on Plutarch and Lucian is realized, the theory of a lost source calls for reinvestigation. Would he have grafted so extensively from the "Marcus Antonius" if a full-scale treatment of Timon lay to hand? Since some at least of the arguments in favor of the lost source do not bear examination, the case must be briefly reopened.

While it was once taken for granted that the MS. *Timon* preceded Shakespeare's and independently drew upon the hypothetical "lost source" for features found also in *Timon of Athens* but missing from other Timon histories, the possibility that the academic play was later than Shakespeare's has now been

¹⁴ In the Italian translation (Venice, 1541) it is "la Ricchezza", and the same observations hold good.

¹⁵ A long digression in Lucian (Bretin, pp. 27-28) compares the right use of riches to marriage, and prodigality to prostitution. While the implications going with *Richesse* seem even more relevant to *Timon*, Lucian's "Plutus" nevertheless reappears in "He pours it out; Plutus, the god of gold, / Is but his steward" (*Timon* I. i. 287-288). So, at least, it is generally assumed. This isolated allusion may be an accident, however, or may possibly be inspired by Bretin: "c'est Pluton qui m'enuoye vers eux: lequel aussi est dispensateur de biens & de grands dons: ce qu'est assez manifesté par son nom propre qui signifie richesse" (p. 29). Or Shakespeare may have glanced at the original, or at a Latin translation, as well as at Bretin.

urged more seriously¹⁶. And quite apart from this possibility, the concurrences of the two plays as against the earlier *Timon* tradition are not nearly as significant as has sometimes been too lightly allowed.

(a) Plutarch and Lucian, it is said, describe Timon's life after his ruin, the two dramatists exhibit his earlier prodigality as well. Since Lucian's Timon reflects at length upon his relations with his flatterers, and the picture of the prodigal life is limned in as clearly as in the dramatic versions, I see no relevance in this agreement of the plays. Indeed, though Lucian does not actually set the scene in the earlier period, the "Sommaire" prefixed to the French translation leaves no doubt as to his dual emphasis on flattery and misanthropy, reproduced in the two-phase movement of Shakespeare's *Timon*:

SOMMAIRE. Icy sont plusieurs choses humaines naïfvement despeintes, & reprises comme souuent vaines & inutiles, signamment les richesses, & la flatterie qui les suit, & l'orgueil qu'elles engendrent. Ce qu'il feint en la personne de Timon Athenien, que les histoires racontent auoir esté plein de grande inhumanité. (P. 23)

(b) The idea of a mock-banquet could have been half-suggested by Lucian, whose Timon recalls the ingratitude of

Gnatonis le fateur, lequel n'aguieres me tendit vn licol, au lieu d'vn soupper que ie luy demandois: luy qui a vomy chez moy tant de tonneaux entiers plusieurs fois. (P. 35)

This disappointment of a guest's expectations corresponds to the basic reversal in Shakespeare's handling, while the throwing of stones (III. vi. 131) derives from Lucian's account of the later stoning of the parasites.

One should ask, too, whether semi-proverbial notions could not have converged naturally in Shakespeare's mind with the embryonic situation adumbrated by Lucian. In John Florio's *Second Frutes* (1591) one sequence of clichés would support this view that a mock-banquet would not be so stunningly original.

Ward your head from this Woolf lapt in a sheepes skin,
Who caryng two faces vnder one hooode, vnder the couert of a doue, hideth
the taile of a scorpion.
Beares fire in the one hand and water in the other,
Bread with the one hand shoves, stones with the other throwes,

¹⁶ R. Warwick Bond thought it quite possible that the MS. *Timon* was post-Shakespearian, p. 66. Georges A. Bonnard outlined a number of conjectural debts to Shakespeare in the academic play, p. 64 ff. With G. C. Moore Smith's conclusion, based on the most tenuous evidence, that the MS. *Timon* belongs to the years 1581-90 ("Notes on some English University Plays" (*M.L.R.*, 1908, III, 143)) the editors of the Oxford *Ben Jonson* have disagreed, since the academic playwright seems to have borrowed from *Every Man Out Of His Humour* and other Jonson plays (IX, 482-485). I have no confidence in R. H. Goldsmith's argument that Shakespeare knew the MS. *Timon* before composing *Lear* and *Timon* ("Did Shakespeare Use the Old Timon Comedy?" (*SQ*, IX, 31-38)). To say that a "network of correspondences ties together the three plays: *Timon of Athens*, *King Lear*, and the *Timon comedy*" (Goldsmith, p. 32) is to call correspondences what are the flimsiest coincidences, and, far worse, to overlook that most of these "correspondences" much more probably go back to Lucian. Unfortunately, Goldsmith did not bring Lucian into his discussion, which invalidates his findings. All in all an impartial judge would, I think, decide that an exact dating of the MS. *Timon* is at present impossible, that a date after 1600 is much more likely than one before, and that a date after *Timon of Athens* is quite as feasible as one before.

That bids you sit and eate, but you with spit doth beate.

And remember, that serpsents hidden lie, where gras & flowrs are hie. (P. 171)

(c) "*Enter the Bandetti.*" This Folio stage direction (IV.iii.401) has been thought a clue to the effect that Shakespeare drew upon a lost Italian "Timon".—No one acquainted with the frequent Elizabethan usage of this word would, I feel sure, accept it as evidence. At the very outset of Shakespeare's career it was pretty well naturalized ("A Roman sworder and banditto slave/Murder'd sweet Tully" (2 *Henry VI*, IV. i. 135-136))—no theories can safely be built upon it. Lucian's Jupiter, incidentally, complains of the profusion of "les pariures, les violateurs & les larrons" (Bretin, p. 25), which may have given Shakespeare the idea.

(d) The minor resemblance that in both plays Timon decides to bury (drown) the newly-discovered gold loses some force when we observe that in Lucian he also rejects it: "mais de ceste Richesse, sans faillir ie ne la leceuray point" (p. 32).

(e) Since Plutarch's "Marcus Antonius" introduced a "faithful steward", it seems more probable to me that Shakespeare expanded this part and was in turn imitated by the other dramatist, than that an hypothetical lost source should have hit on the same idea which would thus reach Shakespeare through two channels.

Although the necessity for a "lost source" has been grossly exaggerated, it would be foolish to pretend that it has no basis at all. That Thomas Lodge in his *Wits Miserie* (1596), writing of Timon and Apemantus, spells the latter name "Apermantus", a form found also in Shakespeare's text (cf. pp. 18 ff., below) but in no other early version, may indeed lend some slight support to the "lost source" theory. The absence of Apemantus from the MS. *Timon*, Shakespeare's heavy borrowing from Plutarch and particularly from Lucian, and the slenderness of the arguments reviewed above, all, nonetheless, point in the other direction.

An Unfinished, unacted play? It is now fairly generally agreed that *Timon* can be no more than an incomplete rough draft, that it was never acted—so that the author of the MS. *Timon* could hardly be familiar with it.¹⁷ Even if the first of these positions is granted, the second does not necessarily follow, for Heminges and Condell, having to fill in the space left for *Troilus*¹⁸, may have given way to pressure from the publishers and allowed the printing of an inferior text even though Shakespeare's tragedy had been given a more permanent finish, and had been performed in this state. Too many other plays were inserted late in the Folio: if the best MS. was not always available, a poor-quality text might be the only alternative to no text at all. The late inclusion of *Timon* should not therefore be overemphasized. Indeed, if *Timon* was not printed after *Cymbeline*, as assumed until quite recently, but is related by its caption-rules to earlier tragedies, we can no longer regard it as a last-minute stop-gap. Then, if various tragedies lay at hand, the decision to fill the vacant space with *Timon* rather than

¹⁷ Cf. Maxwell, pp. x-xi. In the nineteenth century it was more generally held that the peculiarities in *Timon* must be due to a "second hand".

¹⁸ See W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, 1955, pp. 445-448, for the removal of *Troilus* and the addition of *Timon* in the First Folio.

with one of the others could have been taken for any one of a dozen reasons, and the likelihood that it was never intended to print *Timon* approaches the vanishing point.¹⁹

Despite the gap of six or so years between them, *Timon* is now often placed beside *Troilus*, and this common intuition of kinship prompts some further conjectures. Harold S. Wilson may conveniently speak for the generality.

Troilus and Cressida and *Timon of Athens* are the bitterest of Shakespeare's plays. It seems unlikely that either was calculated to have any wide popular appeal. Each play, by reason of its unconventionality, its deliberate flouting of human complacency and self-esteem, must have been a work to which Shakespeare attached a special importance. . . .²⁰

The question arises whether the stage-histories of the two plays, and not only their contents, have anything in common? If the now very widely accepted opinion that *Troilus* was designed for an Inn of Court holds for one play it will hold for two.²¹ After all, in his special study of Elizabethan audiences, Harbage earmarked two Shakespearian plays as "not out of place" in the coterie-theatre category: *Troilus* and *Timon*.²² If *Timon* too was produced at an Inn of Court this would be just the sort of company in which one would expect to find the pedantic author of the MS. *Timon*.

Such an hypothesis disposes economically of various loose ends in the tangled history of *Timon*. That this "must have been a work to which Shakespeare attached a special importance" (Wilson, above) will not be disputed, but the consequences of his earnestness have not been clearly recognized. Stylistic and textual peculiarities have been overstressed while the vital fact that *Timon* appears to be an almost finished play has escaped the attention it deserved.

If Shakespeare was so much in earnest it would be extraordinary if he brought a tragedy to the verge of completion and then abandoned it. The high degree of foresight and planning evident in the works of his maturity reduces to absurdity the customary assumption that he blundered blindly through *Timon*, drew up in dismay at the end and flung his abortion aside. Once we dismiss Shakespeare's "mythical sorrows" and breakdown, as C. J. Sisson's admirable lecture compels us,²³ once the passionate poetry of *Timon* is seen in the context

¹⁹ Difficulties of various sorts held up the printing of so many First Folio plays (*Winter's Tale*, *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, *Troilus*) that it would be most unsafe to read too much into the belated insertion of *Timon*. For the "caption-rules" evidence see John W. Shroeder, *The Great Folio of 1623*, 1956, pp. 74, 85, 86.

²⁰ Harold S. Wilson, *On the Design of Shakespearian Tragedy*, 1957, p. 154.

²¹ Cf. Peter Alexander, "Troilus and Cressida, 1609" (*The Library*, Fourth Series, IX (1928), 267-286); Alice Walker, *Troilus and Cressida* (C.U.P. edition), 1957, p. xxiv. T. W. Baldwin's caveat that it "cannot be too strongly emphasized that there is no known instance in Sh.'s working days where any play was ever written for such private performance" (*Troilus and Cressida*, A New Variorum Edition, ed. Harold N. Hillebrand and T. W. Baldwin, 1953, p. 356) brushes too cavalierly past the evidence for "commissioned plays" (cf. C. J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age*, 1936, *passim*, and the story about the Queen's request for *Merry Wives*), as well as the similar case of very expensive masques written for the court and for Inns of Court. Though not quite the same thing, these all indicate that the actors would produce a play for a special occasion if the bait was big enough.

²² A. Harbage, *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions*, 1952, p. 88. But Harbage accepts *Troilus* and *Timon* as public-theatre plays (pp. 346, 348).

²³ C. J. Sisson, "The Mythical Sorrows of Shakespeare" (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XX (1934)).

of the eminently sane and critical presentation of the hero,²⁴ we must face up to the difficulty that a great dramatist in his prime would hardly bring a play to near-completion and then wonder that it was not what he meant it to be. I think it more likely that *Timon*, like the other plays of Shakespeare of this time, carries out his intentions. In short, the view that *Timon* would never have been performed because the only text that happens to survive looks like a rough draft ignores all the decisive factors—the printers' dilemma, the craftsmanship of Shakespeare, the possibility of a special design for a special audience, and the state of the play as we have it.

Though short compared with Shakespeare's other tragedies (which, it should be remembered, would have to be cut, since most of them were too long), *Timon* would be just the right length for an Elizabethan play, just the same length as *King John*, *Much Ado*, and *The Tempest*. Equally indicative I find the finish of the beginnings and endings of scenes: though some adjustments were probably intended (with the clown, with the entrance of poet and painter in IV. iii. 358, etc.), Shakespeare had obviously advanced beyond the stage of fragmentary jottings, he knew precisely where he was going. Plotlessness may be one of the faults of the play, but it is possible that the author foresaw and resigned himself to this, in which case it is our duty to try and explain his motives.

Quietly passing over the high standard of completion of individual scenes, some nevertheless place great emphasis on structural deficiencies. Were once-planned scenes never written? The need for some preliminary puff for Alcibiades and his friend (cf. *Timon* III. v. 10 ff.), a favorite instance of postulated "missing scenes", was denied by A. S. Collins, who rightly insisted that the sudden prominence of Alcibiades in the middle of Act III should come as no surprise: his stage-presence earlier would prepare for his role, his stature would be suggested—"a noble figure, isolated in his sincerity, apart from all these flatterers".²⁵ Many other "structural weaknesses" are, I think, equally figmentary. Oddities, even if pronounced and unfamiliar in a "typical Shakespearian play" (whatever that may be), should not be allowed to obscure the issue—for *Timon* should rather be judged with its like and its contemporaries.

(1) The "isolation of the hero" occurs also with the Duke in *Measure for Measure*, with Pericles, with Henry VIII, differently each time, but one may legitimately regard this as deliberate, not as a fault which Shakespeare would have swept away in a miraculous last-minute reworking.

A far larger structural peculiarity affects the secondary characters, Alcibiades, Flavius, Apemantus: they speak and clash with Timon, with the play's non-entities, but do not stand in any sort of relationship to each other. This sacrifice of one major source of conflict again seems no accident. As often elsewhere, Shakespeare mirrors the predicament of his hero in these subordinate figures: Laertes, Fortinbras and Pyrrhus must avenge a father's death like Hamlet. Similarly Timon's loneliness reappears in Apemantus, the professional outsider, in Flavius, whose apartness shines through most unmistakably in the one scene where the fellowship of Timon's servants is stressed (IV. ii), and in Alcibiades, whose long silences in Act I together with the restrained courtesy of his replies

²⁴ Cf. J. C. Maxwell's review of recent opinions on Timon's prodigality, pp. xxv-xxvii.

²⁵ A. S. Collins, "*Timon of Athens: A Reconsideration*" (*R.E.S.*, XXII (1946), 103).

when addressed mark him out as singularly as his unquestioned captainship in Acts IV and V. To see *Timon* as a study of different forms of loneliness (among other things), a theme that occupied Shakespeare more and more after the creation of Prince Hal and Jaques, helps to place it in his "development", and also to appreciate the hazards in such an essentially undramatic subject.

Miss Ellis-Fermor, in her brilliant and damaging critique of the play, has insisted that Timon, the hero, is its greatest weakness. "We do not know him and we do not know about him"; he "fails to leave a deep, coherent impression of his personality," and lacks "a wide variety of enthusiasms and richness of personality."²⁶ This is to judge one hero against an invariable, rigid general standard and to forget the special requirements of what is after all a very special play. I think, too, that a recognition of Timon's extraordinary emotionalism will explain why he seems to differ so radically from the other tragic heroes. Much more than Othello and Antony, Timon reduces all his experiences (and thus himself) to overwrought posturing and rhetoric, he forever loses himself in an *O altitudo*—literally loses himself, depersonalizing himself in the process. Though the audience will not misapprehend this for the grand manner and will understand him more completely than he can understand himself, it is one of the concerted ironies of the play that we remain perplexed about the borders between Timon's nobility and his stupidity—perhaps, then, the vagueness of his characterization serves a purpose in the analysis of unwise magnanimity.

A "master passion" always narrows the personality, and Timon's extravagance thus ranges him with the characters of comedy, satire, melodrama (Sir Epicure Mammon, Malvolio, Barabas), yet few will concede that he fails to leave a deep impression of personality. When Miss Ellis-Fermor concluded that "Shakespeare may, it is true, have intended to throw the character into isolation", I feel she was on a more rewarding tack: when she rejected the possibility, because Shakespeare did not underline his intention "with a fulness and clarity that left no room for mistake", one can only reflect that the reiterated warnings of Apemantus and Flavius were indeed in vain.

(2) The episodic nature of the action, again, may be not so much Shakespeare's slack planning as an intended effect. Many scenes are placed side by side rather than closely integrated with one another, a feature which goes hand in hand with the diminished individualization of the minor characters. *Pericles* resembles *Timon* in this looseness of the plot, but after *Othello*, perhaps his masterpiece in "cause and effect" writing, parallelism and analysis begin to challenge suspense in the arrangement of Shakespeare's dramatic forms: one thinks of the elaborate juxtapositionings of *Lear*, the second half of *Macbeth*, and of the controlled slowness of the romances. From 1604/5 onwards, too, increasing numbers of type-characters (lords, physicians, etc.), psychologically unsubtilized, confirm the new trend.

(3) A comparison with *Troilus* and the private theatre play resolves many other "problems" which have vexed the critics.

(a) Is the end of the play incoherent, "disturbing us as it does by its inconclusiveness"?²⁷ The same sort of "conclusion in which nothing is concluded"

²⁶ Una Ellis-Fermor, "Timon of Athens An Unfinished Play" (R.E.S., XVIII (1942), 280 ff.).

²⁷ Una Ellis-Fermor, p. 279.

was devised for *Troilus*, against the chronology of the sources, against the familiar facts of "history", for the sake of intellectual outrageousness; it may be that Shakespeare thought that his special audience (if any) would prefer disturbing questions in place of the usual heavy-handed resolutions of tragedy. Thus Timon's suicide is hinted at but not definitely asserted, the reformation of Athens proposed but not demonstrated. I do not say that this is aesthetically more satisfying than the crashing chords at the end of grand tragedy: yet the "dark comedies" corroborate that in his probing plays Shakespeare found it rewarding to ask frightening questions and close them with perfunctory answers, fading out without the high moral seriousness and conviction of his greatest purging catastrophes.

(b) The same causes probably induced Shakespeare to attempt the intellectualism which saps the vitality of the two plays. Though he went too far, A. S. Collins did well to trace the "morality" pattern in *Timon*, and the contrast of idealism and realism.²⁸ Not only in the characterization of subsidiaries, but in Timon's long denunciations, in the essentially detached "putting of the case" by Alcibiades in III. v, in the chit-chat of poet and painter, even in the contrived contrast of Timon's earlier and later speeches, Shakespeare seems to assume his audience's *penchant* for abstraction and generalization.²⁹ The comparison of the reactions of the parasites to the request for money (Act III), and of the reactions of Timon and the rest to the discovered gold (Acts IV, V), affords the clearest proof that Shakespeare's structural principles here must not be confused with those of the tragedies. His leisurely schematism runs counter to his usual tragic concentration: to propound that the play is "unfinished in conception"³⁰ is to assume too lightly that it was cast in the same mould as its great predecessors.

(c) Timon's sex-disgust, commencing in IV. i, once regarded as simply an intrusion of Shakespeare's personal feelings, therefore a sign of artistic irresponsibility, may lose some of its unexpectedness if placed beside *Troilus*. Thematically, as Kenneth Muir has shown, it would be by no means intrusive.

In Athens, it is clear, love is a commodity like everything else. The only women we see are masquers and harlots. The sex nausea of Timon is an appropriate criticism of a society which is dominated by the acquisitive principle, a society which is bound together by what Marx calls the cash-nexus.³¹

The dresses and demeanor of extras could easily convey in Acts I-III the sex-atmosphere which is so vividly described thereafter. Plutarch's indignation against sexual debaucheries in the "Alcibiades" and the "Marcus Antonius" surely prepared this theme for Shakespeare, as perhaps did the French translator of Lucian who transformed the Greek's (male) Plutus into a (female) whore, Richesse (cf. p. 11, above)—but quite as important for our purposes is the fact that Inn of Court literature dwells with enormous relish upon every sort of unchastity. Prose pamphlets such as Greene's and the poetical effusions of the young students themselves would leave even the dullest hack in no doubt about the taste of the termers. The shock-tactics in the employment of the sex-theme in

²⁸ Collins, p. 98 ff.; cf. Mark Van Doren, *Shakespeare*, 1941, pp. 288-292.

²⁹ Cf. O. J. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Satire*, 1943, p. 188 ff.; J. C. Maxwell, pp. xxviii-xxix.

³⁰ Una Ellis-Fermor, p. 283.

³¹ "Timon of Athens' and the Cash-Nexus" (*The Modern Quarterly Miscellany*, I (1946), 68).

Timon seem to me not so much a personal obsession as a necessary ingredient, much like Pandar and Thersites.⁸²

(d) If intended for an evening performance at an Inn of Court, *Timon's* emphasis on food and drink would have special point. After sumptuous feasting and revelry, such as we find described in *Gesta Grayorum* (or, more imposingly, in Elizabethan livery accounts), the opening scenes of *Timon* would strike an almost sinister note. Not even in *Henry VIII* did Shakespeare furnish a picture of lavish entertainment on a par with *Timon* I.ii with its "great banquet served in"; the "mock-banquet" of III.vi continues this interest, as do *Timon's* search for roots (preferred to "liquorish draughts/And morsels unctuous" (IV.iii.195-196)), and recurring images.

The masque of ladies (I.ii), with whom the men dance, reminds us of the "Dancing and Revelling with Gentlewomen" chronicled in *Gesta Grayorum* (p. 22). *Timon's* prodigality would be a sobering spectacle for the young law-students, who were a byword for this sin. Alcibiades' pleading in III.v, as though in a court of law, would enthrall such an audience, even if the accused does not appear.

All in all one may say that a number of features of the play, as listed in this section (d), though perfectly unobjectionable under normal conditions, would gain immensely in impact if viewed through the eyes of the special audience.

(4) Fourthly, it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that though *Timon* is riddled with inconsistencies and loose ends, this does not set it apart from Shakespeare's other works but rather confirms its authenticity. The notes at the end of Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy*, as also Laqueur's further discoveries in *Shakespeares Dramatische Konzeption* (1955), suggest that loose ends were the unavoidable secondary manifestations of his genius, and there would be more cause for disquiet if they were absent.

The text. After Shakespeare had done his worst, further "bungling" complicated the text. Modern bibliography would ascribe the fault, where the text is bad, to the state of the copy rather than to the incompetence of the printer,⁸³ but it may be that an oversight has ruled out one possibility of corruption. The authorities are agreed that Jaggard's Compositor B set the whole of *Timon*, yet I think that there is some indication for two men in the transmission.⁸⁴ Variations in the spelling of Apemantus are the first clue. On signatures gg2^a, gg3^a, gg3^b the spelling "Apermantus" is found without exception, the speech prefix "Aper." accompanying it; on signatures gg1^b, gg2^b, sandwiched with the others, the exclusive form is "Apemantus", with the speech prefix "Ape." On gg4^a the "Apermantus" form continues from gg3^b in column A, but "Apemantus" takes over in

⁸² See also A. Harbage, *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions*, 1952, Part II, chap. iii, "Sexual Behavior".

⁸³ Cf. W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, 1955, p. 97, n. 2.

⁸⁴ Alice Walker (*Textual Problems of the First Folio*, 1953, p. 11), Charlton Hinman ("The Prentice Hand in the Tragedies of the Shakespeare First Folio: Compositor E" (*Studies in Bibliography*, IX (1957), 15)), and Maxwell (p. 88), all held that *Timon* was set by Compositor B unaided. After the completion of this paper, in 1958, the view that "two hands" were concerned with the copy for *Timon*, originally suggested by the late Philip Williams, has been reaffirmed in H. J. Oliver's edition of the play (1959), p. xix ff. Oliver discusses the text more thoroughly than I can in this brief note, but reinforces my conclusion that the exceptional "roughness" of the text is partly post-Shakespearean in origin.

column B, and goes on on gg4^b with the exception of one isolated occurrence of "Apermantus" at II. ii. 78. Thereafter "Apemantus" remains unchallenged. This extraordinarily consistent division even affects a catchword: that on gg2^a is "Aper.", yet gg2^b begins with the speech prefix "Ape." If, as J. C. Maxwell conjectures, "Shakespeare used the form *Apermantus* up to the end of Act I (near the beginning of 4^r), but began to use the correct form in 2.2" (p. 90), it still seems more likely to me that two compositors worked on these early portions, which vary page against page, column against column, rather than that there was "a haphazard attempt, with the page as the unit, to normalize in the printing-house" (Maxwell). Either the copy was set up wrongly from the start, which would be most easily explained from the collaboration of two compositors,—or the correction occurred "with the page as the unit", where again the discrepancy would point to two different men in the transmission.

This impression is reinforced by other textual curiosities. In III. ii, Lucius is named in the stage direction, and his speech prefixes on gg5^a are "Luc." and "Lucius." On gg5^b, however, after continuing correctly with the speech prefixes "Luci." (twice), the compositor suddenly changes to "Lucil.", a form found three times beside shorter ones ("Luci.", "Luc."). Clearly this compositor thought the speaker's name was Lucilius,—like Timon's servant in I. i, on gg2^a where "Apermantus" also occurs.

Though there are not sufficient instances of the name for certainty, it looks as though one man preferred the form "Apermantus" and later recollected the name Lucilius which he had set earlier. We now come to a further variation: this same man set up "Ventidius" (gg2^a) while the "Apemantus" compositor chose "Ventigius" (three times on gg2^b).³⁵ That these spellings amount to more than chance seems to transpire from hh6^a, where "The Actors Names" gives Lucius, Appemantus, Ventigius,—not Lucilius, Apermantus, Ventidius.

These inferences drawn from names can be backed with the usual tests. If Compositor B set the whole play, is it not surprising that the last speech contains three B and two A spellings (here, griefes)? Are the A spellings sprinkled throughout the text not more than one might expect? Why is the A spelling "here" so common (on gg4^a, gg5^a, gg6^a, hhr^a, hh5^b)? Is there any significance in the peculiar spelling "deny'de" found four times on gg5^b (III. ii. 15, 17; III. iii. 7, 8) beside "denied" (III. ii. 19, 26; III. iii. 7)? On gg5 occur a number of A spellings, some other spelling anomalies, and the Lucius-Lucilius confusion.

While these peculiarities admit of many explanations, and one cannot insist absolutely that Compositor B did not set the whole play, I would not press that Compositor A had a hand in the text. There are not enough A forms; it is therefore more likely that we have to do with someone sharing some A spelling-habits. But, though it may still be urged that B must have set the whole text, a good deal of tampering must assuredly be granted—more, I think, than has been realized. Either explanation suits the argument that the play's textual deficiencies must be in part post-Shakespearian in origin. Even if the copy was more illegible than was customary, the state of the Folio text should not bias our attitude to the

³⁵ On gg5^a, col. A, we find "Ventiddius" (twice), on gg5^b, col. B, "Ventidgius" (twice), but here there is no safe evidence as to compositors. It seems possible that Shakespeare himself used the "-dg-" form, though he may have experimented with spellings, as did the writer of Hand D of *Sir Thomas More*.

play as a whole,—it would be a great mistake to suppose that it proves Shakespeare's dissatisfaction with his achievement.

Conclusion. We have been told over and over again that *Timon* is a failure: because Shakespeare reworked another man's play, because he did not complete his own play; it is "a first sketch of *King Lear*, set aside unfinished because the story proved intractable and no full measure of sympathy could be demanded for its hero",⁸⁶ or it is the left-overs of *King Lear*, an "after vibration". The same misconceptions fuddled the interpretation of the dark comedies and the romances. Compared with the tragedies these do indeed seem to be a falling-off: nevertheless, eloquent advocates persuade us that they exist successfully in their own right. I fear that the traditional bracketing of *Timon* and *King Lear* has done far more harm. Despite many and striking likenesses, which, to be sure, are frequent in plays written in close proximity even if belonging to different genres (e.g. *Hamlet* and *Troilus*), the forms of *Timon* and *King Lear* are so utterly unlike that their collocation can only be misleading.

The recognition that *Timon* may have been meant as something other than the regular tragedy has come slowly. I do not think that we should call it a "tragical satire",⁸⁷ yet we cannot hope to be fair to this unique and embarrassing drama by lazily lumping it together with the grand tragedies. If a point of reference is required, the most useful would be *Troilus*, with which it has much more affinity than I have been able to demonstrate. A coterie audience, especially one made up of termers, would resolve many of its difficulties, both of value and technique. The absence of a satisfactory source explains others, Plutarch's *Timon* anecdote being too short, so that the "Marcus Antonius" and the "Coriolanus" were drawn upon, and Lucian's dialogue being a few loosely connected episodes rather than a narrative. As regards the text, the agents of transmission must be given some credit for its irregularities, and the very nearly finished version that survives in no sense obviates the possibility of a cleaner and final fair copy blessed with the author's approval. At the same time, of course, *Timon* belongs to the end of the "tragic period", when Shakespeare began casting about for a new manner, so that his touch was not always happy. All these accidents may help us to understand why the play is so "unusual", but they do not justify the too prevalent refusal to take it seriously—"because Shakespeare did not put his heart into it", or "because he put too much of himself into it."

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⁸⁶ Walter Raleigh, *Shakespeare*, ed. 1950, p. 115.

⁸⁷ O. J. Campbell, p. 168 ff.

The Date of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*

PAUL BERTRAM



HE title-page of the 1634 quarto of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* ascribes the play to Fletcher and Shakespeare. The text, transmitted through a series of Beaumont and Fletcher collections, was not admitted to any collection of Shakespeare until Charles Knight, in 1841, printed it in his volume of "Doubtful Plays". A variety of attempts to affirm or deny Shakespeare's partial authorship appeared with increasing frequency during the last century and in the earlier decades of our own, but within the past thirty-five years the authorship controversy has resolved itself into more or less general agreement; the original attribution to Shakespeare has been defended or adopted by such scholars as Bradley, Chambers, Kittredge, Greg, and Bentley.

The question of the date cannot, of course, be entirely separated from the question of authorship. Yet if we proceed from the conviction that Shakespeare wrote at least part of the play, the reduced number of variables in the problem permits us to get a clearer view of the date than was once thought possible. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is now commonly assigned to 1612 or 1613, but no comprehensive review of the relevant evidence has ever been published; the present essay is an attempt to provide such a review.

One of the most important pieces of evidence is to be found in the text of a masque performed at Court in February 1613. Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of King James, was married to Prince Frederick, Elector Palatine and later King of Bohemia, on 14 February. Among the lavish entertainments given before the royal couple prior to their departure from England in April, one of the most successful was *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Grayes Inn*. The *Masque*, which Sir Francis Bacon had helped to arrange for the occasion and for which Beaumont had written the libretto, was presented on 20 February at Whitehall; the text, along with a descriptive commentary on the performance, was published shortly thereafter. The description of the second anti-masque provides us with evidence relevant to the date of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*; after Iris calls for the entrance of "all the Rural company, Which decke the May-games with their Countrey sports", the commentator identifies the cast:

The second Anti-masque rush in, daunce their Measure, and as rudely depart, consisting of a Pedant.

May Lord,
Servingman,
A Countrey Clowne, or Shepheard,
An Host,
A Hee Baboone,
A Hee Foole,

May Lady.
Chambermaide.
Countrey Wench.
Hostesse.
Shee Baboone.
Shee Foole ushering them in.

All these persons apparelled to the life, the Men issuing out of one side of the Boscage, and the Woemen from the other: the Musicke was extremely well fitted, having such a spirit of Countrey jollitie, as can hardly be imagined, but the perpetual laughter and applause was above the Musicke.

The dance likewise was of the same strain. . . . It pleased his Majestie to call for it againe at the end. . . .¹

Other witnesses present on 20 February 1613 also testify that the *Masque* was happily received and that the second anti-masque was particularly "strange . . . and delightful".²

May games and sports figure prominently in the dramatic development of Acts II and III of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and at the opening of Act III, scene v, we find the Schoolmaster Gerrold instructing his band of country yokels and wenches about the morris dance they intend to perform before Duke Theseus and his bride Hippolyta. Gerrold tells the others they are to wait "close in the Thicket" and, when he gives a signal, to "break comly out" before the Duke and his train. The Countrymen and their wenches leave the stage at line 92; Gerrold remains behind, waiting for Theseus and his hunting party to pass. Theseus and his friends come on stage. Gerrold catches their attention—"Stay, and edifie"—and they stop and listen to his doggerel prologue for the "mighty morris" about to be performed. Part of that prologue names several of the characters in the dance:

The body of our sport of no small study
I first appear, though rude, and raw, and muddy
The next the Lord of May, and Lady bright,
The Chambermaid, and Servingman by night
That seeke out silent hanging: Then mine Host
And his fat Spowse, that welcomes to their cost
The gauled Traveller, and with a beckning
Informes the Tapster to inflame the reckning:
Then the beast eating Clowne, and next the foole,
The *Bauian* with long tayle, and eke long toole,
Cum multis alijs that make a dance,
Say I, and all shall presently advance.

(III. v. 121-134)³

As Kökeritz has pointed out, *beast* (line 131) is a variant spelling for *beest* (beestings), and a modern edition would read *beest-eating clown*, a rude coun-

¹ Cambridge *Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. A. R. Waller, X (1912), 383. The text of the *Masque* was licensed on 27 February 1613. The reprint of the *Masque* in the 1647 Beaumont and Fletcher Folio does not retain the prose commentary.

² The description in which these words occur is that provided by Howes in his continuation of Stow's *Annales* (1615), p. 917. Further description of the *Masque* may also be found in three of the *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure (1939), I, 425-431 *passim*; the letters date from February 1613.

³ Quotations follow the 1634 quarto text, but line-references follow the numbering of the modernized text in Kittredge, ed. *Complete Works of Shakespeare* (1936).

Several discussions of the borrowing in III. v attempt (unnecessarily) to match the number of actors on stage in lines 1-92 with the number of dancers in the morris dance (who enter in costume at line 137), but "*cum multis alijs*" at line 133 would seem to render the attempts futile.

try clown.⁴ The Bavian is a baboon, a he-baboon. The roles in the morris dance obviously duplicate most of those in the second anti-masque of the show at Whitehall. The correspondences, publicized by A. H. Thorndike about sixty years ago, have led most critics to agree that—just as *The Winter's Tale* evidently borrowed its dance of satyrs from Jonson's masque *Oberon—The Two Noble Kinsmen* borrowed its morris dance from the Beaumont Masque, and that this borrowing establishes the earlier limit for the date of the play.⁵

The following lines from *Bartholomew Fair* IV.ii are usually cited as possible evidence for the later limit:

Quarlous. . . . Well, my word is out of the *Arcadia*, then: *Argalus*.
Win-wife. And mine out of the play, *Palemon*.

If Winwife's allusion is to the hero of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, it suggests that the play was already known in late 1613 or 1614. *Bartholomew Fair* was first acted on 31 October 1614, and there is some reason to believe that Jonson was at work on it almost a year before.⁶

One objection has been raised to taking the Jonson line as an allusion to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Daniel's *The Queen's Arcadia* also has a Palæmon, and the title of this rhymed pastoral led Fleay to decide in 1891 that it must be to him, and not to the Palamon of the play, that the line referred.⁷ Although Fleay's various theories concerning the date of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* were all constructed too long ago to take into account the evidence of the borrowed morris dance, the suggestion that the Jonson allusion was to Daniel may, of course, have been right. One ought to note, on the other hand, that *The Queen's Arcadia* was performed only once (the place was Oxford and the year 1605),⁸ that Daniel's Palæmon is a distinctly minor character, and that—if we wish to assume that Jonson would not care to have had his reference to the "word . . . out of the play" recognized—it seems a bit odd that Quarulous should identify his book but that Winwife should not identify his play. The probability, in short, is that Winwife's play is *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, although the strength of this prob-

⁴ Helge Kokeritz, "The Beast-eating Clown", *MLN*, LXI (1946), 532-535.

⁵ In his 1812 edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, Henry Weber drew attention to the duplication of roles in a footnote to the text of the *Masque* (XIV, 337). The duplication was noted again by Skeat in his 1875 edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and by Littledale in his 1876 edition for the New Shakspeare Society, but it was not considered as evidence for the date until Littledale published his "General Introduction" to the N.S.S. edition in 1885 (pp. 53*-55*, 68*-69*). In *The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspeare* (1901), A. H. Thorndike expanded Littledale's argument, adding the example from *Oberon* and *The Winter's Tale*, and elaborating Littledale's point on the unlikelihood that masques at Court would borrow dances that had been staled on the public stages. The freshness of the *Masque of the Inner Temple*, and the elaborateness of the arrangements undertaken for its production, are stressed in the contemporary descriptions, and there seems to be no doubt about the direction of the borrowing.

⁶ Greg, ed. *Henslowe Papers* (1907), pp. 78-79. A letter by Daborne to Henslowe, 13 November 1613, refers to a new play on which Jonson is at work; Greg suggested that this would be *Bartholomew Fair*. Without the letter we might still suppose that the winter of 1613-1614 would be a likely enough time for Jonson to have begun work on his play.

⁷ F. G. Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama* (1891), I, 378. In the same volume Fleay suggested a 1611 date for *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (pp. 189-192), and in none of his various discussions of the date—others will be cited later—did he consider 1613 or refer to the evidence of the Beaumont Masque.

⁸ Daniel's text was published in 1606 and it is quite possible, of course, that Jonson had read it. The other references in *Bartholomew Fair* (to "Ieronimo, or Andronicus", for example, in the Induction) are, nevertheless, usually to works his audience might know either directly or by reputation.

ability will depend, of course, on our consideration of all the dating evidence taken together.

There is perhaps some additional evidence in *Bartholomew Fair* itself. A number of details other than Winwife's line suggest that Jonson in 1614 had already become acquainted with *The Two Noble Kinsmen*; there are, for example, these lines from the Induction:

If there bee neuer a *Seruant-monster* i'the *Fayre*, who can helpe it? he [the Author] sayes; nor a nest of *Antiques*? Hee is loth to make Nature afraid in his *Playes*, like those that beget *Tales*, *Tempests*, and such like *Drolleries*, to mixe his head with other mens heeles; let the concupiscence of *ligges* and *Dances*, raigne as strong as it will amongst you.

It is usually assumed, of course, that these lines allude to *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*. Perhaps it would be reading "such like *Drolleries*" too literally if we were to suppose that Jonson had at least one more play in the back of his mind as well, but the "nest of *Antiques*" might apply to Gerrold and his odd country crew more readily perhaps than to any group of characters in the other plays; the word *Tale* itself might have applied, in 1614, both to *The Winter's Tale* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*;⁹ and the reference to interpolated dances—if that is what Jonson meant—would be appropriate to each of these plays, although perhaps not to *The Tempest*. Were it not for the lead given by Winwife's line, however, the passage from the Induction would no doubt be of little evidential value, and a few other suggestive details in the text of *Bartholomew Fair* are perhaps equally tenuous and may be relegated to the notes.¹⁰ But the remaining evidence for public performance of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* in 1613, to be found mainly in the Prologue and Epilogue, would appear to support the evidence in Jonson's play, even though their testimony consists, again, of allusions open to more than one interpretation.

Cut loose from the play, the Prologue is still enlivened by the intricacy of its rhythms and the variety of inflection in its tone. The surface difficulties—e.g. the ellipses in lines 11 and 24—recede as we hear how distinctly the writer imagines the speaking voice and endows it with a marked habit of converting expected statement into unexpected drama. At the same time that we attend to the Prologue as a theatrical speech, however, we might note, more prosaically, that it is also an unusually informative historical document:

Florish.

*New Playes, and Maydenheads, are neare a kin,
Much follow'd both, for both much mony g'yn,
If they stand sound, and well: And a good Play
(Whose modest Sceanes blush on his marriage day,*

⁹ *Tale* (cf. *T.N.K.* Epilogue 12-13, p. 30 below) seems to have been used more or less as a term to designate a genre—as opposed e.g. to a "true history" like *Henry VIII*—much as we sometimes call *The Winter's Tale* a "romance".

¹⁰ Among the classical pomposities of Gerrold in *T.N.K.* III. v and of Justice Overdo in *B.F.* II. iv appears the identical quotation from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* xv. 871 (a famous line, however); in Jonson's puppet-show episode in V. v, Damon and Pythias quarrelling over Hero may incorporate some burlesque of Palamon and Arcite quarrelling over Emilia in *T.N.K.* II. ii, III. i, III. iii, and III. vi; a number of jokes in the same Jonson scene—e.g. the bull with two pizzlies and the dogs that dance the morris—may glance at the morris dancers and the Bavarian, the baboon "with long tayle and eke long tooles", in *T.N.K.* III. v, recalling the chaffing in Jonson's Induction; and so forth.

And shake to loose his honour) is like hir [5]
That after holy Tye, and first nights stir
Yet still is Modestie, and still retains
More of the maid to sight, than Husbands paines;
We pray our Play may be so; For I am sure
It has a noble Breeder, and a pure, [10]
A learned, and a Poet never went
More famous yet twixt Po and silver Trent.
Chaucer (of all admir'd) the Story gives,
There constant to Eternity it lives;
If we let fall the Noblesse of this, [15]
And the first sound this child heare, be a hisse,
How will it shake the bones of that good man,
And make him cry from under ground, O fan
From me the wittes chaffe of such a wrighter
That blastes my Bayes, and my fam'd workes makes lighter [20]
Then Robin Hood? This is the feare we bring;
For to say Truth, it were an endlesse thing,
And too ambitious to aspire to him;
Weake as we are, and almost breathlesse swim
In this deepe water. Do but you hold out [25]
Your helping hands, and we shall take about,
And something doe to save us: You shall heare
Sceanes though below his Art, may yet appeare
Worth two houres travell. To his bones sweet sleepe:
Content to you. If this play doe not keepe, [30]
A little dull time from us, we perceave
Our losses fall so thicke, we must needs leave.
 Florish.

[26 take = tack]

The Prologue is evidently intended for a first performance (line 16) in a theatre charging admission; clearly it is not intended for a revival nor for a Court audience. No Jacobean prologues are more explicit on the newness of the plays they introduce; few are so obviously suggestive of a commercial performance—a suggestion emphatically confirmed by such phrases as “let him [who dislikes the play] hisse, and kill Our market . . .” in the Epilogue (cf. p. 30 below).

The reference to “our losses” in the last line is probably to be regarded—given the verbal context, and given the common theatrical conventions of address between speaker and audience in a prologue—as an allusion to some public misfortune that befell the acting company. It is difficult to suppose that a dramatist would go out of his way to be unintelligible in a Prologue designed to court the favor of his audience, and the “losses” would presumably have to be well enough known for the audience to recognize the reference and respond to it. Two identifications have been proposed in the past.

One explanation, first offered by Littledale in 1885, is that the lines refer to the destruction of the Globe theatre in the fire set off during the performance of the banquet scene (I. iv) of *Henry VIII* on 29 June 1613.¹¹ Common sense

¹¹ Littledale, note 5 above. With regard to the related question of the date of *Henry VIII*, see the Introduction to the new Arden edition by R. A. Foakes (1957), pp. xxvi-xxxiii. The famous letter by Sir Henry Wotton to Sir Edmund Bacon on 2 July is the source of the information that the

suggests—and numerous contemporary references to the Globe fire confirm the suggestion—that the fire must have been known to virtually every London theatregoer in 1613. The shareholders in the King's company who were also "housekeepers" were required to lay out considerable expenditures for the construction of a new theatre,¹² and the company no doubt suffered other losses as well. Littledale's explanation, especially since it complements the other evidence for a performance in 1613 (evidence of which Littledale was only partially aware), is therefore quite tempting; it will be given further consideration later.

Another explanation of the "losses", however, has occasionally been offered, in one variant form or another, since it was originally worked out by Fleay—as part of a more elaborate theory about the play—in 1883. Fleay noted that an actor's name is printed in the stage direction at IV. ii. 72: "*Enter Messengers. Curtis.*" Identifying the actor who played a messenger as Curtis Greville (a member of the King's company in the later 1620's), Fleay then produced an intricate argument into which the following assertions were fitted:

1. The play had been completed by Fletcher, long after Shakespeare's death, from an unfinished dramatic fragment left behind by the elder dramatist.

2. The first performance of the play took place before Fletcher died in the plague of 1625, and "the Prologue was clearly one of Fletcher's own modest compositions; for, had it been written after his death, there would have been a flourish about him in it [as in] . . . the prologues to *The Elder Brother*, *Lover's Progress*, and others written after that event. . . ."

3. Since the Prologue calls the play new, the manuscript in which Greville's name appeared, and from which the 1634 quarto was printed, must have been the prompt-copy for the original production.

4. Greville entered the King's company at some time between 27 March 1625, the date on which King James died, and 24 June 1625, the date at which (Fleay assumed) the theatres were closed because of the plague. The first performance of the play must have occurred between those dates.

5. The "losses" to which the Prologue refers, then, would be (a) the death of James on 27 March, and (b) "the poor attendance" at the theatre as the plague increased in virulence during the following weeks.¹³

Most of these assertions, as we shall see, have subsequently proved to be untenable, but Fleay's suggested identification for the "losses" has nevertheless

Globe fire began during the scene of Wolsey's banquet at the end of Act I. Since Wotton refers to *Henry VIII* as a "new" play, it has sometimes been assumed that the première took place on 29 June. Foakes gives many reasons for dating the first performance somewhat earlier in the spring of 1613, and Wotton's letter itself, as a matter of fact, makes clear that "new" can mean only "new this season": Wotton speaks of the presence in the play of "the Knights of the Order, with their Georges and Garter", and must therefore be referring to the coronation scene in Act IV (where the stage directions specify "Collars of Esses", insignia of the Order of the Garter)—a scene Wotton could hardly have watched on the day that the fire consumed "within less then an hour the whole House to the very grounds"!

¹² Cf. F. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (1923), II, 423-424.

¹³ Fleay outlined his arguments in a communication to W. J. Rolfe, printed in Rolfe's edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1883), pp. 39-41. Three years later Fleay found it impossible to believe "that a play begun by Shakespeare was left unnoticed for some dozen years"; reluctant to abandon his own dating arguments (which were the sole ground for that belief), however, he concluded that Shakespeare had nothing to do with the play; cf. *Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare* (1886), p. 254. By 1891, however, he had abandoned those dating arguments; cf. note 7 above.

been repeated by later scholars without reference to Fleay's original reasons for it.

As Bentley has pointed out, the London theatres were almost certainly closed when James died on 27 March, and they would not have been able to reopen at the time of his funeral in early May because the number of deaths from the plague had by then risen to more than forty a week, the point at which theatrical performances were forbidden.¹⁴ Greville, moreover, probably did not enter the King's company until performances were resumed near the end of the year.¹⁵ It might be mentioned that actors' names appear in another stage direction; at the opening of V.iii we find "*Enter . . . some Attendants, T. Tucke: Curtis.*" The first name has been identified as Thomas Tuckfield, of whom all we know is that he was a hired man in the King's company in December 1624.¹⁶ The second would again refer to Curtis Greville, whose presence in the company may be dated, roughly, from about 1626 to about 1632 (cf. note 15). The date of the performance for which the book-keeper inserted the actors' names in the manuscript would have to fall within Greville's tenure in the company, although our bias should be towards the earlier limit to accommodate Tuckfield (i.e. the later the year, the less certain is Tuckfield's continuance with the company). "About 1626" will perhaps be satisfactory, although the precise date is of little present consequence, for this performance appears to have been a revival and there are indications that the actors' names were merely added to an older manuscript.

Evidence came to light in the mid-1920's which ruled out the possibility that the first performance of the play was the one in which Tuckfield and Greville took minor parts. Play-lists from James's Revels Office survive on scraps of paper bound into Cotton MS Tiberius E. X. One of these lists mentions "The 2. Noble Kinsman"; analyzed by Frank Marcham and E. K. Chambers, the list has been dated c. 1619, and—as both Chambers and Bentley have noted—it indicates that the play was considered for a performance at Court in that year.¹⁷ Whether or not the Court performance actually took place, the listing signifies that the play was probably in the company repertory at that time, and it makes it extremely difficult to see how a Prologue introducing a new play could allude to anything that took place in the mid-1620's.

The Prologue, however, appears to raise one further difficulty. It refers, in line 19, to a single writer. Since the word appears at the end of a line, it is sometimes explained as due to "the mere exigency of the rhyme". The merits of this explanation need not be considered just yet. It was not mentioned by Chambers

¹⁴ G. E. Bentley, *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II (1940), 654. Statistics on deaths from the plague (printed on p. 668) indicate that the theatres could not have reopened until sometime after 24 November 1625, the last day of the first week since May in which there were fewer than forty deaths.

¹⁵ The data concerning Greville's career are recorded in Bentley, II, 451-452. Greville is known to have been a member of the Palsgrave's company in 1622, a member of the King's company by October 1626, still a member of the King's in 1631, and again a member of a rival company in 1634. Since Greville's name does not appear in any of the documents which identify most of the members of the King's company in late 1624 or early 1625 (on which cf. Bentley, I, 14-19), Bentley believes he probably remained with the Palsgrave's until that company dissolved in 1625 and joined the King's at the time performances were resumed after the plague.

¹⁶ Tuckfield's name appears on the list of "necessary attendantes" of the company whom Sir Henry Herbert granted protection from arrest on 27 December 1624. Cf. Bentley, II, 606-607.

¹⁷ Frank Marcham, *The King's Office of the Revels, 1610-1622* (1925), p. 13. Cf. review of Marcham by Chambers, *RES*, I (1925), 480. The information is also recorded in Bentley, I, 95, 114.

when, in 1930, he summarized the dating evidence in what is perhaps still the most influential discussion of the subject. Part of Chambers' discussion adopts a modified form of Fleay's explanation for the "losses":

The Globe fire of 1613 need not, of course, be the explanation of prol. 30:

If this play doe not keepe
A little dull time from us, we perceave
Our losses fall so thicke, we must needs leave.

In fact the prologue is probably of later date than the play, since it speaks of 'a writer', although there are clearly two. There was probably a court performance about 1619 [Chambers here inserts a reference to the Revels Office fragment]. But Littledale's inquiry for a date at which the King's men's losses fell so thick as in 1613 may perhaps point us to 1625, when the death of James was followed by a heavy plague, and the theaters were closed.¹⁸

Chambers' failure to note any difficulty in squaring the Revels Office fragment with the suggested date of the "losses" will probably have to be put down to oversight; he neglects to mention the fact—and had therefore perhaps temporarily overlooked it as he wrote his summary—that the Prologue introduces a new play.

No one has suggested any date other than 1613 or 1625 for the "losses". As far as we know, the only striking loss suffered by the King's men which might have been attended by wide publicity (in the range of years open to us) would be the death of Burbadge in 1619, but the lines in the Prologue would be a rather inappropriate tribute to Burbadge, just as they might seem quite indecorous as a reference to the death of James and to the appalling number of casualties in the plague of 1625. The Prologue speaker's *we* and *our*, in any case, apparently mean the company of actors, and in connection with the Globe fire his words sound modestly appropriate. There is, moreover, some further evidence pointing to a 1613 performance. But before we proceed to that evidence, which appears in the Epilogue, a few other miscellaneous points will have to be summarized rapidly.

The 1634 quarto has only recently begun to attract the attention of bibliographical analysts. One critic, F. O. Waller, has called attention to a good deal of evidence that the printer's copy consisted of authorial manuscript, and he has noted several indications that this manuscript was (partially, at least) in Shakespeare's own hand.¹⁹ With regard to the date of the play, Waller mentions only one piece of evidence, the borrowing from the Beaumont *Masque*, and he uses this to suggest that the manuscript dates from early 1613. Sir Walter Greg has also referred occasionally to the play, and his most recent comment on it is that it "was produced about 1613, . . . and was printed in 1634 from what was almost

¹⁸ Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (1930), I, 530. Despite his suggestion that the Prologue is "of later date", Chambers accepts 1613 as the date of the play itself.

¹⁹ F. O. Waller, "Printer's Copy for *The Two Noble Kinsmen*", *SB*, XI (1958), 61-84. The evidence for Shakespeare's hand in the copy which Waller presents (including e.g. many idiosyncratic Shakespearian spellings) is a valuable contribution to study of the play, but there is more such evidence than Waller finds, there is also stronger evidence than Waller notes that the manuscript had served as a prompt-book, and the Waller essay as a whole does not present a coherent theory of the copy.

certainly the original prompt-book."²⁰ The bibliographical evidence is far too complex to summarize in what is merely a review of material concerning the date of the play, but it is mentioned because one or two very minor points connected with it bear upon our interpretation of the Prologue and Epilogue. Spellings are generally consistent throughout Prologue, text, and Epilogue—whether of common words (e.g. *loose* for *lose* occurs in the Prologue and sixteen times in the text) or of uncommon (e.g. *take* for *tack* occurs in the Prologue and twice in the text)—suggesting that all were probably written in the same hand. Another slight hint that the Prologue and Epilogue were closely linked to the text may be found in stage directions apparently added by a prompter to the basic manuscript; directions for a *florish* come at the beginning and end of the Prologue; another such *florish* is directed at the end, but not at the beginning, of the Epilogue on sig. N1; while we should not necessarily "expect" to have found another *florish* at the beginning of the Epilogue, it is perhaps worth noting that any such direction would in this case have been superfluous, since there actually is such a direction on the preceding page, sig. M4^r, accompanying the final *Exeunt* in the last scene of the play; in other words, the Prologue and Epilogue seem to have been integrated with the text by the book-keeper who prepared the manuscript for use as a prompt-book.

Another point that should be mentioned, although again the extent and complexity of the evidence permit only a hasty and no doubt inadequate summary, is that the play shows unusually strong signs of having been written with performance at an indoor theatre specifically in mind. The text, for example, calls frequently for the use of cornets rather than trumpets,²¹ it is unusually specific in its indications of scenery and of scenic effects,²² and it is exceptionally lavish in its use of music—music to accompany formal processions in I. i and I. v, the morris dance in III. v, ceremonial flourishes for nearly all of Theseus' appearances, directions for horns and recorders, and no less than eight songs scattered throughout the play.

The King's men are known to have given provincial performances after the burning of the Globe, extending possibly as late as mid-October. They returned to London in the fall and gave the customary performances at Court; a large number are recorded for November.²³ The new Globe was not ready until mid-1614, and the company would have used Blackfriars, the usual site for November performances anyway, for all its public performances during the 1613-1614 season. An attempt at precision about the date *The Two Noble Kinsmen* was

²⁰ Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* (1956), p. 111. A small part of the evidence on which Greg bases this conclusion is presented in his volume on *The Shakespeare First Folio* (1955), pp. 119, 120n., 136, 140.

²¹ At the height of the combat between Palamon and Arcite in V. iii, one stage direction calls for both trumpets and cornets; trumpets are not elsewhere called for, but cornets are specified no less than twelve times. As W. J. Lawrence has pointed out—*Shakespeare's Workshop* (1928), pp. 48-74—the flute-like seventeenth-century cornet, rather than the trumpet, was used for indoor performances, and the exclusive or predominant use of cornets is one indication of a text prepared or adapted for an indoor theatre.

²² E.g. "Exeunt towards the Temple" (I. i. 225), "Enter Palamon from the Bush" (III. vi. 1); the many special visual and aural effects (and even the use of incense) specified in more than twenty lines of stage directions in V. i (the altar scene) may be studied in any modern edition, since editors usually preserve those directions without change. Cf. also Allardyce Nicoll, *Stuart Masques* (1937), p. 142.

²³ The records are reprinted by Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, II, 344-345.

first performed will perhaps be uncomfortably reminiscent of Fleay. Nevertheless, an early November date for the first performance would allow time for the play to be written, it would accommodate the borrowing from the Beaumont *Masque*, it would follow the première of *Henry VIII* by an appropriate interval of perhaps six to eight months, it would accord with the assumption that the play was written with performance at Blackfriars in mind, it would satisfy the possible allusions in *Bartholomew Fair*; and if the play were the first to be presented by the company to a London theatre audience after the Globe fire, the Prologue would be particularly apposite to the occasion. The Epilogue might be even more apposite.

The Epilogue, as strange and original in its movement as the Prologue, appears to have been ignored in most scholarly discussions of the play. The speaker starts out with the same embarrassed and halting manner, proceeds with the same hesitant delicacies of tone as in the latter half of the Prologue, and appeals to the gallants in the audience (lines 5 ff.) not to be hypocritical or hypercritical

*I would now aske ye how ye like the Play,
But as it is with Schoole Boyes, cannot say,
I am cruell fearefull: pray yet stay a while,
And let me looke upon ye: No man smile?
Then it goes hard I see; He that has* [5
*Lov'd a yong hansom wench then, show his face:
Tis strange if none be heere, and if he will
Against his Conscience let him hisse, and kill
Our market: Tis in vaine, I see to stay yee,
Have at the worst can come, then; Now what say ye?* [10
*And yet mistake me not: I am not bold
We have no such cause. If the tale we have told
(For tis no other) any way content ye
(For to that honest purpose it was ment ye)
We have our end; and ye shall have ere long* [15
*I dare say many a better, to prolong
Your old loves to us: we, and all our might,
Rest at your service, Gentlemen, good night.*
Florish.

Our present purpose again requires that we confine our attention merely to theatrical reference in the lines. We may note that the speaker moves away from particular reference to the play just ended to a more inclusive reference to the relationship between the players and their audience. In the last lines there would appear to be a fairly distinct allusion, although it has never, apparently, elicited comment. The promise of "many a better [play], to prolong Your old loves to us" sounds like precisely the right note to strike at a resumption of London performances four months after the Globe fire brought them to a halt; the curtailed activity would be part of the point of the reference, and a London re-opening before a familiar audience would be the fitting occasion for the reassurance that "we, and all our might, Rest at your service. . ."

Although, in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary, it seems natural to assume that prologues and epilogues were written by the authors of the plays

to which they were fitted, and although both literary and bibliographical considerations seem to indicate that such was the case with the Prologue and Epilogue of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, it has sometimes been supposed—e.g. it is implied by Chambers (cf. p. 10 above)—that these speeches were written neither by Shakespeare nor Fletcher. Presumably that supposition rests upon the presence of the word *writer*. No other reason, in any case, has been suggested, and in the absence of any positive evidence or argument for a third hand, we shall have to trace out the thinking behind this supposition for ourselves. Chambers presumably means that whoever wrote the Prologue was unaware of the facts of dramatic authorship. Marginal and insignificant as the play may have seemed to various scholars, however, it was once very much in the minds of the King's men; the play requires—as the altar scene in Act V, for example, should by itself make quite clear—a most expensive and lavish production, and it calls for a very large cast. To assume that the shareholders of the King's company could be ignorant of the authorship of the play is patently absurd, even if we assume that Shakespeare was unaccountably detached from the preparations for its performance. If we were to try to imagine a first performance after Shakespeare's death (even though it makes most of the dating evidence unintelligible) we should have to note that Burbadge lived until 1619, Condell until 1627, and Heminge until 1630; after Shakespeare's death, these were the men with most authority in the company, and if they farmed out the task of writing the Prologue to a writer otherwise unconnected with the play—merely the handling of tone in these speeches argues a professional writer of considerable ability—it is surely strange that they would keep him in the dark, or fail to correct him, about the matter of authorship. To attribute the Prologue to a writer ignorant of the circumstances of dramatic composition, moreover, would make of the tribute to Chaucer a decided anomaly. If we assume a strange hand, we are evidently faced with far more difficulties than before and we seem to be left without any credible means of explaining them.

Apart perhaps from the word *writer*, it is, hopefully, clear enough that all the evidence bearing on the date can be brought readily to agreement by assuming that the play was probably first performed near the beginning of the 1613-1614 theatrical season. For those who assume dual authorship in the play, the fact that *writer* occurs in a rhyme position will no doubt suffice to resolve the trifling puzzle it creates. Virtually everyone, of course, does take dual authorship for granted.

The distinguished stage historian W. J. Lawrence, however, once attempted a different explanation. On the strength of the borrowed morris dance, the allusion in Winwife's line, the fact that the Prologue introduced a new play, and the allusion to "losses" (which he called "clearly a reference to the burning of the Globe"), Lawrence in 1921 proposed that the play had first been performed in the autumn of 1613, the same date suggested in these pages.²⁴ But his familiarity with the customary ways in which Jacobean and Caroline playwrights addressed audiences at Blackfriars in their prologues and epilogues constrained him to interpret the word *writer* quite literally; he therefore worked out an ingenious theory of authorship in which he argued that Fletcher alone had written the original play in 1613 (with the present Prologue), and that the

²⁴ Lawrence outlined his theory in a long letter to *TLS*, XX (14 July 1921), 450.

extant play had been revised by Massinger in the 1620's. Later, however, Lawrence became much more familiar with the construction and the texture of the play itself, and in 1937 he rejected his own earlier theory and announced that he was "happy" to indorse the view that Shakespeare must have been responsible for much of the play.²⁵ He said no more about the word *writer*, but his attempt to attach it to Fletcher was perhaps an instructive failure; in any case, few students of the play would today be able to reject Shakespeare's authorship entirely. The word *writer* might also be accounted for, of course, by assuming that the play was written (as Pope and De Quincey once believed) by Shakespeare alone. But that hypothesis will raise so many apparent difficulties in the minds of so many readers that it must be set aside for the present; our discussion has been concerned with the date of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and the problem of authorship—including the various alleged proofs of dual authorship and the generally unexamined assumption of Fletcher's presence in the text—must be dealt with at greater length on some later occasion.²⁶

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²⁵ Lawrence, *Speeding up Shakespeare* (1937), p. 48. The theory that Massinger wrote parts of the play in close imitation of Shakespeare began with the astonishingly perverse arguments of Robert Boyle in the *New Shakspeare Society Transactions* for 1882 (pp. 371-399). Tucker Brooke, like Lawrence, once inclined to this theory (*The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, 1908, pp. xl-xlv), but he too abandoned it later (cf. Baugh, Brooke, et al., *A Literary History of England*, 1948, pp. 540, 576), and the Lawrence letter to TLS in 1921 appears to be the last occasion on which a reputable scholar wrote on behalf of that theory.

²⁶ To avoid any ambiguity, I ought perhaps to add that my own view is that the play was written wholly by Shakespeare, although my presentation of the reasons and evidence for this opinion is at present accessible only in my doctoral dissertation, *Shakespeare and "The Two Noble Kinsmen"* (Harvard University, 1960)—a study of Henry VIII and Cardenio as well as *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

The Reformation of Prince Hal

HUGH DICKINSON

If the spectator should be successfully drawn into the dramatic act, criticism is left with only secondary considerations, none of which can affect the act itself. Drama lives or dies in action—analysis remains external, retrospective, and confronts a mere memory.¹

If one sets out to stage the first part of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, he finds it necessary to divorce the text from its related historical plays and regard it in strict isolation as "the book of the play", the basis for a dramatic, rather than a literary, experience. Such an approach must assume at the outset that the play is unified and complete in itself; that it will yield a coherent action, a core about which the playwright has organized its varied events. It must assume also that, despite the enormously diverse views of the play, its characters, structure, focus and theme, the text will provide answers that will hold in the theatre, or hold not at all. This is a reading of the play derived from the text in rehearsal and performance. It proposes the theatrical approach as a critical discipline having a valid claim to consideration, and presents a judgment of the play arrived at through the medium of the stage—for which, after all, it was expressly created.

In this reading, most of the answers will be found to lie in the actions of the character against whom critics have levelled some of their worst charges: namely, Henry, Prince of Wales. In performance, it is Hal who provides the clue to the total action, which is: to "redeem the time"; it is Hal whose reformation forms the core of the action, and who unifies and completes the play; it is Hal who is its protagonist and its unassuming hero, as well; it is Hal whose deeds most explicitly dramatize the theme of the play, which is: the education of a prince; and, finally, it is Hal who demonstrates the supreme attribute of kingship to be, not honor, but self-sacrifice.

I

Stanislawski's term for the total action of a play, "the super-objective", assumes that a good play is so organized that all its events are directed toward achieving a single, overriding objective; that everything in the play, in fact, combines to accomplish this desired end—including those forces that oppose it, but that actually help to bring it about in the long run.

The super-objective is: to redeem the time. The recurrence of the phrase itself, or its equivalent in action, is scarcely accidental in the various strands of the plot at the beginning of the play. It reminds one of the Epistle to the Ephe-

¹ David I. Grossvogel, *The Self-Conscious Stage in Modern French Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 68.

sians, as if Shakespeare had had it in mind as his text: "See how you walk circumspectly, not as unwise, but as wise: redeeming the time, because the days are evil (v. 15-16)." A modern translation puts it more colloquially: "See to it that you walk with care: not as unwise but as wise, making the most of your time, because the days are evil."² Each of the three forces in the play that converge upon Prince Hal, and in regard to which he must define his position, illustrates this. The forces are the crown, the tavern, and the field, represented respectively by King Henry, Falstaff, and Hotspur.

The king seeks to redeem the time by uniting England in a crusade to the Holy Land, and thus to secure the throne against the threat of civil war (I. i). Events quickly thwart his aim, rob him of the initiative, and require him to deal instead with military and political conditions that jeopardize the crown.

The real premise of the play, therefore—that aim or decision which is to be tested and proved by all subsequent events—rests with Prince Hal. But Falstaff states it first, in comic terms, when he announces his intention, repeated throughout the play, of reforming altogether: "I must give over this life, and I will give it over. By the Lord, and I do not, I am a villain (I. ii. 83-84)."³ This use of ironic counterpoint anticipates Hal's serious resolve to reform, which provides the premise of the play, and which is expressed in his much-debated soliloquy:

I know you all, and will awhile uphold
The unyoked humour of your idleness.
Yet herein will I imitate the sun . . .
So, when this loose behaviour I throw off
And pay the debt I never promiséd,
By how much better than my word I am,
By so much shall I falsify men's hopes . . .
I'll so offend, to make offence a skill,
Redeeming time when men think least I will.

(I. ii. 171-193)

The super-objective is voiced again, this time by Hotspur, in the following scene. Stung by the king's refusal to ransom Mortimer, he threatens to join the latter and make war upon the king. Characteristically, he adjures his father and his uncle Worcester in these words:

. . . yet time serves wherein you may redeem
Your banished honours, and restore yourselves
Into the good thoughts of the world again,
Revenge the jeering and disdained contempt
Of this proud king . . .

(I. iii. 180-184)

And a moment later, he says of himself in the famous speech:

By heaven, methinks it were an easy leap,
To pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon . . .
So he that doth redeem her thence might wear
Without corrival all her dignities:
But out upon this half-faced fellowship! (201-208)

² *The New Testament—a Revision of the Challoner Rheims Version* (Washington, D. C.: Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, 1950).

³ The text used for all scene and line references is that of *The London Shakespeare*, ed. John Munro (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), Vol. IV.

With Hotspur committed to rebellion against the king, we have the three main forces of the play, as well as Hal himself, all resolved to redeem the time. The meaning of the phrase alters, of course, depending on who uses it; and it will have still another and larger meaning when the total action is complete. Already crown and field stand in clear opposition; Falstaff, linked to Hal rather than to the others, represents an unknown quantity so far; and Hal himself represents a variable, at least as to the time and nature of his commitment. If his resolve and its realization are to become the focal point of the action, each of the forces must play its part in bringing about his reformation; and he, in turn, must pay the debt he "never promised" in such a way as to affect them all in redeeming the time.

But, at the end of Act I, we still do not know precisely what the premise of the play consists of; nor, therefore, what his reformation will be like. The terms of the premise have no term, the reformation looks as if it is to be both limited and unlimited. What Hal means to do and when he means to do it are not specified. The nature of his debt is implied, not defined explicitly; both the form and direction of its payment, moreover, are left to time and circumstances to determine. The king has measured him against Hotspur and found him wanting; an old lord of the council has rated Falstaff in the street about him—this Prince of Wales, who seems to have "daffed the world aside, And bid it pass." While he enjoys himself, he stands—in the eyes of the crown and the field—at the nadir of his fortunes, a truant to chivalry and the throne; whereas, "Percy stands on high", and will stand higher still before he is brought low by Hal. That this is not the whole story, we learn when Hal speaks his thoughts.

It is a truism that one judges himself by his intentions, others by their actions. By revealing his intention, Hal's soliloquy places him in a special relation to the audience. The effect of this privileged intimacy is to induce us, for a time, to withhold judgment on his actions. Shakespeare has purposely left vague his earnest of right conduct, has placed no time limit upon its accomplishment, so that there is no compulsion for Hal to reform until events directly challenge his resolve.⁴ This occurs when the rebels' plot is uncovered, and the king, openly preferring Hotspur to his own son, holds Hal capable of treachery against his father and the crown. Hal's resolve comes into focus, and the earnest at once becomes an oath:

I will redeem all this on Percy's head
And in the closing of some glorious day
Be bold to tell you that I am your son;
When I will wear a garment all of blood,
And stain my favours in a bloody mask,
Which, washed away, shall scour my shame with it.

(III. ii. 132-137)

With this, the issue is joined, the premise is fully defined at last, and the nature of the reformation is outlined for us. Hal, as Prince of Wales, concerns himself only with his obligations to his father, the crown, and his country's weal, now threatened by rebellion. His reformation will be limited to what has to be done:

⁴ Technically, this enables the playwright to unfold the conspiracy, which needs time to develop, and to contrast Hotspur's actions with Hal's truant life in the tavern. It may also serve to cast doubt on the firmness or sincerity of Hal's resolve, and so create suspense.

the king shall have his wish; the two youths shall change places as surely as if "some night-tripping fairy had exchanged [them] In cradle clothes . . . where they lay. . . ." It is to be judged, therefore, not by some general and inclusive standard of conduct or morals, but according to how fully it meets the demands of dramatic necessity. For this alone defines its true nature.

It has been said that the reformation does not really take place: "There is no real reformation: the prince always knows what is right and prefers it; only appearances are against him."⁵ Now, it might be more interesting to see a slow change of heart, or an intense moral struggle, or to see Hal try and fail several times before succeeding; but that would be another play. One can stage only what is given. This does not mean, however, that the reformation is inadequate, or the premise of the play unrealized; still less, that the reformation does not occur. It is quite true that we do not witness a religious or moral conversion, for that involves both intellect and will; and Hal neither debates what constitutes right action generally, nor does he accuse himself with any show of guilt, of the immorality Falstaff imputes to him.

We are to witness a reformation, which involves the will only; but it must be shown. Plainly, Hal knows from the first that he must redeem the time. In the theatre, we witness his decision, made here and now, at the moment of utterance. But in drama, especially at the beginning of a play when a character's capacities have not yet been established, intention is not enough for us; the word will not serve for the deed. As spectators, we demand that a character ratify his decision by acting upon his word. He may succeed or fail, but he must make the attempt; he can prove himself only by action. When we see Hal do this—and he unquestionably does it—then, and only then, his reformation becomes a reality in the dramatic experience.

II

One of the most dramatic themes to be found in the tetralogy is that of King Richard's murder, Bolingbroke's guilt therein, and its working-out in the form of an ancestral curse upon the House of Lancaster. Yet it is scarcely to be found in this play, and for a very important reason. Compare, for example, its dramatic reality in *Henry V*, where the young king's prayer on the eve of Agincourt (IV.i.267-283), lasting only about two minutes, is enough to introduce his father's bloodguilt and establish it swiftly and incontestably in our minds and emotions; whereas, all the accusations of Hotspur, Northumberland, and Worcester cannot make it operative in this play. I mean by this, that the rebels raise the *question* of King Henry's guilt as early as Act I, Scene iii; but the action of the play never resolves it—never, in fact, really deals with it. Certainly, not once does Prince Hal advert to it in any way; nor is it remotely touched on in the tavern scenes, where Hal is so conspicuous by his presence. Moreover, although the rebels mention Bolingbroke twice in the scene where they forgather to carve up the kingdom (III.i), none of them refers to his guilt. The king himself may—or may not—be alluding specifically to his part in Richard's death when he says to Hal:

⁵ M. A. Shaaber (ed.), *The First Part of King Henry the Fourth* (The Pelican Shakespeare; Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957); Introd., p. 16.

I know not whether God will have it so
 For some displeasing service I have done,
 That, in his secret doom, out of my blood
 He'll breed revengement and a scourge for me;
 But thou dost in thy passages of life
 Make me believe that thou art only marked
 For the hot vengeance and the rod of heaven
 To punish my mistreadings. (III. ii. 4-11)

In view of Hal's reformation, the action of the play would seem to give the lie to the king's fear.⁶

Yet Dover Wilson has suggested a reading of this pivotal scene which makes much of bloodguilt and involves the consciences of both king and prince. In this, the king is not only a man scolding his son for his reckless life: he is a royal father, haunted by his guilt in the overthrow and death of King Richard. And part of his punishment comes from seeing his son and heir-apparent "conducting himself like Richard and treading the path that leads to deposition and death. . . ." Hal, of course, is no mere royal scapegrace, but apparently, in this view, a prince who is oppressed by the guilt that stains his father and the throne he is to inherit and who (ironically) evades the thought of some day sharing that burden of guilt, by irresponsibly aping the course taken by his father's victim. Yet Richard's fate, says Wilson, "was undoubtedly a warning to the prodigal Prince, and Shakespeare reminds us of it again and again, in order that we may the more appreciate the wisdom and rightness of the reformation when it comes."⁷

Obviously, this adds to the rich complexity of a crucial scene; but is it justified by the text of the play, regarded as single and complete? Actually, the scene does not depend for its dramatic validity upon the gnawings of the king's conscience from bloodguilt. There is sufficient motivation without it, simply in the king's fear that Hal, through dissipation, will succeed to the throne, only to go the way of the feckless Richard.⁸

The charge of regicide, it is to be further noted, is never made in the king's presence, let alone Hal's. Northumberland introduces it in an equivocal speech prompted by Worcester's question about the late king's proclamation of Mortimer as heir to the crown:

⁶ Facing the same problem in *Henry V*, E. M. W. Tillyard refers to the play as "a splendid interlude, when the ancestral curse was for the moment suspended." Cf. *Shakespeare's History Plays* (New York: Macmillan, 1946), p. 311. For the reason cited, the comment seems even truer of this play.

⁷ *Introd., The First Part of the History of Henry IV* (Cambridge University Press, 1946), p. xxiv.

⁸ As for Hal, to require him to cope with a problem of guilt, another's or his own, without the means to exhibit it, let alone act upon it, in the play, is, to my mind, to present the actor an insoluble problem. If the guilt is not there, the actor should not play it. If it is meant to be there, the playwright must provide it before the actor can convey it purposefully and effectively. Here, two statements by the noted Shakespearian actor and producer, Michael Redgrave, may be relevant:

1) "There is no end to what you *can* read into a Shakespearean part if you *try* . . . and here again, [for the actor] as for the scholars, the golden rule should be: what is the context?" Cf. *Mask or Face: Reflections in an Actor's Mirror* (London: Heinemann, 1958), p. 74-75.

2) ". . . One of the formidable difficulties for the actor in attempting the great Shakespearean parts is that Shakespeare did not appear to take the trouble to dramatise, in the strict sense of the word, some important side of the character. . . . For instance, Antony is described as 'noble' on no less than eight occasions. But, excepting for his generosity towards Enobarbus, and possibly in his death-scene, Antony is never *shown* to do one noble thing." Pp. 78-79.

He was: I heard the proclamation.
 And then it was when the unhappy King,—
 Whose wrongs in us God pardon!—did set forth
 Upon his Irish expedition;
 From whence he, intercepted, did return
 To be deposed and shortly murdered. (I. iii. 47-52)

Hotspur makes it most openly in the parley with the king's ambassador, Sir Walter Blunt:

Then to the point.
 In short time after, he deposed the King;
 Soon after that, deprived him of his life;
 And in the neck of that, tasked the whole state . . .

(IV. iii. 89-92)

Blunt asks: "Shall I return this answer to the king?" But Hotspur replies: "Not so, Sir Walter", and takes the king's offer under advisement. When Worcester visits the king's camp next day to return the rebels' answer, Prince Hal is present for the parley with his father. Worcester couches his grievances very circumspectly, and does not mention regicide. In summary, he simply accuses the king of having brought rebellion upon his own head "By . . . violation of all faith and troth Sworn to us. . . ." The king treats the grievances as charges trumped up for public consumption, and the matter is abruptly dropped when Prince Hal intervenes and offers to decide the issue with Hotspur in single combat. Thus, the king's guilt, as such, is simply not dramatized in this play. The whole question is treated as non-committally as is the guilt or innocence of Mowbray and Bolingbroke—or, indeed, of King Richard himself—in the death of Woodstock that provides the ostensible basis for the conflict with which *Richard II* opens.

If Shakespeare had wished to introduce the theme of guilt attaching to the crown, and the curse upon the Lancastrian line, so as to make them dramatically operative, he had two obvious opportunities to do so. The first is Hal's soliloquy, which would make the theme a part of the premise and fix our attention upon it for the rest of the action. The second—and a magnificent opportunity it would be—is the moment before Hotspur's death:

O, I could prophesy,
 But that the earthy and cold hand of death
 Lies on my tongue. No, Percy, thou art dust,
 And food for— [Dies.]

(I. iv. 83-86)

Imminent death never stops a Shakespearian character from unburdening himself at length, if there is dramatic need for him to do so. Is this what Hotspur was going to prophesy? But he did not: Shakespeare did not let him; and we may not presume to know.

Guilt need not be stated: it can be implied, and with very powerful dramatic effect. Yet here it is repeatedly charged, but fails to carry the weight of implication. The reason seems to me plain: Shakespeare could not, or rather would not, deal with it in connection with the reformation of Prince Hal. It is as if Hal must, at no point, contend with any thought of his father's guilt, for that

would raise scruples—scruples in *his* mind about his right of succession; and in *ours*, damaging suspicions about his connivance in the knowledge of his father's guilt.⁹ For this play, at least, both Hal's right to the throne and his obligation to it must go unquestioned. And so the *charge* of guilt furnishes the rebels with a pretext for their treachery; but, in the play as it stands, the king's guilt, as a *fact* to be demonstrated by action, does not exist.

But, in another regard, the charge serves a dramatic function; for it becomes one of several unresolved elements in an enveloping action that is, as I think, deliberately characterized by ambiguity and detraction. Here I wish to take first the matter of ambiguity. The actual circumstances of the play are so ambiguous, the speeches of characters at times so equivocal, as to make one think they are purposely unclear in imputing guilt or asserting innocence. Is the king, for example, right about the circumstances of Mortimer's falling-off; or is Hotspur? Does Hotspur tell the truth or not, about withholding his prisoners? The questions can be added to, both from the antecedent action and from the offstage action that develops once the play has begun. The conflict is joined, without the facts behind it having been clearly established for the audience—then or later in the play, for the parleys carry this ambiguity as far as the last act.

Shakespeare may be making a virtue of necessity, for his method seems consciously to reflect the equivocal speeches of the contending powers. Perhaps this is really to say no more than that he presents no clear-cut situations, where issues are cleanly drawn between heroes and villains, right and wrong, good and evil; and that, instead, he presents a highly charged dramatic situation, that derives a great deal of its tension from the confusion of its characters' limited knowledge, mixed motives and blinding self-interest; their very suspicions, rationalizations, and self-justifications serving to drive the drama forward. Yet I believe Shakespeare intends this play to have a hero, for whom the murkiness of the enveloping action is to serve as contrast. If the words of others in the play are made to seem equivocal, Hal's *actions*, after his vow to kill Percy or be killed, are designed to be as unequivocal as possible. Against this dark background, they are to stand out clear. Hal's soliloquy reveals both his own method and the dramatist's:

And, like bright metal on a sullen ground,
My reformation, glitt'ring o'er my fault,
Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
Than that which hath no foil to set it off.

(I. ii. 188-191)

III

This brings us to the theme of detraction. Honor will not live with the living, says Falstaff: "Why? Detraction will not suffer it." What has detraction to do with the play? Is it more than an idea voiced once by Falstaff? By the time the word crops up in the famous speech about honor, we have witnessed and responded to a good deal of it, without perhaps having called it by that name. Yet that is what it is. Shakespeare exploits the ambiguity described earlier to give detraction its dramatic reality. The play does not celebrate honor, it

⁹ Shakespeare treats the question of Mortimer's succession in the same oblique fashion as he does the king's presumed bloodguilt.

examines it. Its polar opposite in the dialectic of the action is, significantly, not dishonor, but detraction; that is, undeserved dishonor. Thematically, it is as inevitable that Hotspur, "the theme of honour's tongue", and Falstaff, the absolute master of detraction, should meet at Shrewsbury, as that Hotspur and Hal should do so.

It is ironic that Hotspur, "this all-praised knight", should himself be no mean hand at detraction. To him, the king is "this ingrate and cankered Bolingbroke", "this vile politician", "fawning greyhound", "cozener", and much more of the same. When he receives a letter from a lord who is loath to rise against the king, the man becomes "my lord fool", "a shallow, cowardly hind", "a lack-brain", "a frosty-spirited rogue", "a pagan rascal . . . ! an infidel", and "a dish of skim milk". After all this, one wonders why Hotspur sought him out in the first place. "My lord fool" he may be; but, ironically, he hits the nail true on the head with every blow; in a subtle piece of foreshadowing, his letter states precisely what comes to pass:

"The purpose you undertake is dangerous, the friends you have named uncertain, the time itself unsorted, and your whole plot too light for the counterpoise of so great an opposition." (II. iii. 9-12)

Rumor is no allegorical "presenter" in this play, as it is in the sequel; but common report is the bearer of detraction, and not to be trusted. But Hotspur trusts it; and, in the end, he is its victim as surely as Hal is, in the beginning. All Hotspur knows of Hal before Shrewsbury, he gains at second hand; and so, to him, Hal is "that same sword-and-buckler Prince of Wales", "the nimble-footed madcap"; and his contempt for Hal is so great that it betrays him into thinking the king "loves him not And would be glad he met with some mischance." Worst of all, the tongue of detraction has so tied his ear to none but its own that, when Vernon twice reports to him the truth about the prince, he cannot credit it:

Cousin, I think thou art enamored
Upon his follies. Never did I hear
Of any prince so wild a liberty. (V. ii. 70-72)

As for Falstaff, the evidence against this masterly detractor is too plentifully apparent to need detailed illustration. The tavern scenes consist of little else: when they are not outright slanging matches, as between Falstaff and Hal or Falstaff and Mistress Quickly, they are likely to be wonderfully scurrilous flights of hyperbole, such as his dilation upon Bardolph's nose. Indeed, apart from a passing reference to "my hostess of the tavern", one brief speech after the Gadshill jest, and his half-rating, half-toadying terms of address to Hal, I cannot find that Sir John has one word of praise for any but himself in the entire play—and, of course, he has much to say "in behalf of that Falstaff."¹⁰ These purely comic passages (where slander seems not to injure, nor pitch to defile) provide a fitting counterpart to the equivocal atmosphere of charge and countercharge that marks the scenes at court and in the field.

Prince Hal does not belong with the detractors, but with their victims. This

¹⁰ The one brief speech is: "But, by the Lord, lads, I am glad you have the money. . . . Gallants, lads, boys, hearts of gold, all the titles of good fellowship come to you!" (II. iv. 244-247)

is so, for all that he can hold his own against Falstaff—indeed, can address him in no other way but in friendly slur, even when he thinks him dead; and, when drink loosens his tongue, can give a wickedly amusing parody of “the Hotspur of the north” that is all the sharper for lacking envy or malice.¹¹ But elsewhere his speech is notably free of detraction, even in his angry outburst to his father, where he speaks sarcastically of “. . . this same child of honor and renown, This gallant Hotspur, this all-praised knight. . . .” His anger is directed less at his rival than at the king, for preferring a rebel to his own son and holding so low an opinion of his “unthought-of Harry” that he can think him capable of treachery. Hal is too clear-sighted to diminish Hotspur’s “glorious deeds”. His speech before Worcester and the king trims up Percy’s praises as fairly as Vernon says it does; and his scrupulous courtesy when he encounters his rival—“Why, then I see A very valiant rebel of the name.”—contrasts sharply with Hotspur’s fleering contempt: “I can no longer brook thy vanities.” It leads one to suspect that his moving eulogy over Hotspur’s body shows greater heart than Hotspur’s might have done, had *he* been victorious. For Hotspur does not know the true Hal till the moment of death, and envious ambition makes him easy prey to misprision. Hal is the wiser of the two, for having early felt the sting of detraction.

Detraction not only works against Hal in the play, it goes beyond the world of the play, into its literary history. Hal has been as much maligned by Shakespearean critics as by tale-bearers at court. What is really at issue, it seems to me, is the nature of drama: the difference between action and report, between what is said and what is shown.

To begin with Hal’s plea in his own defense, he tells us at the outset that there are men who hope to see him fail; and that he intends to falsify their hopes, redeeming time when they shall least expect it. When the king calls him on the carpet, however, it is not merely to charge him with truancy to crown and field, but with

. . . such inordinate and low desires,
Such poor, such bare, such lewd, such mean attempts,
Such barren pleasures, rude society,
As thou art matched withal and grafted to. . .
(III. ii. 12-15)

Hal begs pardon for “some things true wherein my youth Hath faulty wand’red and irregular”, but will not shoulder blame for “many tales devised” by “smiling pickthanks and base newsmongers”, always bent on gaining the king’s ear. The king adds to “vile participation” the final insult of degeneracy, that could encompass treachery against his own father, “through vassal fear, Base inclination, and the start of spleen.” Hal’s instant denial again shows that detraction has been at work: “. . . God forgive them that so much have swayed Your majesty’s good thoughts away from me.”

In the king’s camp, Hal admits to his shame only that he has been a truant to chivalry. When he saves the king from death at Douglas’ hand, we learn again that detraction has been at work:

¹¹ Here one should keep in mind something that, in the theatre, takes care of itself: the parody is played *before* the scene in which Hal vows to kill Hotspur.

King: . . . Thou hast redeemed thy lost opinion,
 And showed thou mak'st some tender of my life,
 In this fair rescue thou hast brought to me.
 (V. iv. 47-50)

This is a revealing speech. It confirms in advance the truth of Hal's ironic reply, which prompts no denial from the king:

Prince: O God, they did me too much injury
 That ever said I waited for your death.
 If it were so, I might have let alone
 The insulting hand of Douglas over you,
 Which would have been as speedy in your end
 As all the poisonous potions in the world,
 And saved the treacherous labour of your son.
 (51-57)

Thus, detraction figures in the plot as far as the penultimate scene of the play. But now Hal has justified himself to his father, he has kept his word to be "more myself", and has risked his life for the safety of the crown. Detraction—the king's own charge of degeneracy included—has been disproved in the event, *and we have seen it happen*. This much of the premise has been fulfilled: "Thou hast redeemed thy lost opinion." And Hal will go on to kill the leader of the rebels and win the day for the crown.

What becomes, in retrospect, of the king's charge that "riot and dishonour stain the brow Of my young Harry?" Has Hal been less than honest? Has he failed to make a clean breast of his "intemperance"? What of his "inordinate and low desires . . . barren pleasures, rude society"? The answer is, we hear about them, but we do not see them. Or rather, what we do see turns out to be quite different from the king's description of it. The Gadshill robbery, for example, though probably a hanging matter, is really a merry trick to catch the old one. Our moral teeth are drawn, not so much by the fact that "the money is paid back again" with advantage—that comes later; but by our delighted complicity in the event. Beyond that, what? Some tipping, some bawdy wit-combats, more practical jokes, a lie to save Falstaff from the law. Again, reprehensible. But do we really condemn it? Not unless, like some critics, we condemn in Hal what we are more than willing to condone in Falstaff. For that matter, we do not even *see* Falstaff corrupting the prince, unless what we are shown would also corrupt us. And the lovers of Falstaff who dislike and deplore Hal as heartless are not responding to the action of *this* play; they are looking forward to his formal rejection in the next—after they have enjoyed the mock-rejection of the play extemporé.

Hal's worst traducers, it seems to me, commit a fundamental error of dramatic criticism when, conning the play for isolated clues, they take what is said at its face-value and put the clues together in a static character-sketch that gives as much weight to what we are told, as it does to what we are shown in direct enactment. But all characters in drama are, so to speak, existentialist; they do not exist until they act; and *as* they act, so they are. It is by direct actions that characters create and define themselves for us; and it is this which carries maximum impact in the theatre. Our response to Hal is chiefly determined by what

we see him do; and it is different, in degree and perhaps in kind, from our response to what is said of him. In this play especially, where there is so great a discrepancy between action and report, the theatrical experience itself unmistakably dramatizes that discrepancy for us. Hal is to be judged in the theatre; that is, by his actions.

IV

If detraction is so pervasive in the play, what of honor? It has been said that the play, like Falstaff, debunks honor, as *Don Quixote* debunks chivalry. But shall we take Falstaff's catechism as the final word, or shall we treat it as the devil's nine questions? For the play presents an answer to that catechism different from Falstaff's—or from Hotspur's.

These two are Hal's foils in the play, the one close, the other remote. Hotspur, representing courage, is his remote foil. His close foil is Falstaff who, even as he reflects the prince's most human side, associates him with cowardice and backsliding, not to mention law-breaking. Hal's courage and honor remain to be proved, and Falstaff's roguery and cowardice are there to remind us of the fact. As a physical coward, Falstaff is the antithesis of Hotspur, whose courage is unquestioned, whatever we may think of his actions. Poins gives the fat rogue's true estimate in this matter, early in the play: ". . . if he fight longer than he sees reason, I'll forswear arms." His cowardice is plain as a pikestaff on the stage.¹² The action of the play exploits the fact in situation and dialogue—even in those instances of psychological projection, where Falstaff imputes cowardice to the prince and others.

Hal's business in the play is to reform; and we have Falstaff to remind us of it, not only by his cowardice, but also by his frequent references to his own amendment. ("Well, I'll repent, and that suddenly, while I am in some liking", etc.) His parting words are in the same vein: ". . . I'll purge, and leave sack, and live cleanly as a nobleman should do." But we know he won't change; and this, coming as it does after the battle, makes us all the more aware of how much Hal *has* changed.

As Hal and his foils converge upon Shrewsbury, their relationships and the qualities they reflect, alter. Hal draws nearer to his rival's courage, further from Falstaff's cowardice and irresponsibility. Yet, because selflessness has characterized his every action from the moment of his oath, he draws away from the self-seeking in both, as if taking from Falstaff the cunning a king must have, and from Hotspur the courage; qualities which they, as his factors, have engrossed up in his behalf and which, in the death of the one and the rejection of the other, he crops to make a garland for his head.

So much for courage and cowardice. But where is honor in all this? Virtues do not exist in a vacuum, but in man; and honor takes its complexion from each man who possesses it. Who has it? Hotspur, he that died at Shrewsbury? Few will deny that he has it in abundance. Does he not build his life on it, give it ultimate value transcending life? For him, it cannot exist apart from physical courage; and so it is best sought in the field; for what engrosses it up more surely than brave deeds done in battle?

¹² One need not interpret the action so as to make him one; rather, in interpreting the action, one finds him to be so. Let us grant him daring in all other respects.

But the play shows that honor, as sole guide and standard, can be dangerous—though this very fact must commend it to Hotspur: the greater the gamble, the greater the glory. In the quest for honor, the purpose of a quarrel may be forgotten; its effects upon the lives of others or the welfare of a nation, ignored. The only philosophy possible is fatalism: "Die all, die merrily." Whatever its motive or object, such courage can scarcely fail to command our admiration, even when it cannot win our esteem.

Honor is so desirable that Hotspur will wear all its dignities, will brook no corrivals or any half-faced fellowship. Yet he can praise an ally fulsomely, even envy an enemy's great deservings and good name, and do both without diminishment to his personal honor. But to hear his rival praised by another nourishes agues in him. Why should this be? Is honor scarce? Is it diminished by having to be shared? Yes; if honor is praise, recognition, renown, worship, fame, glory. For then, once brave deeds engross it up, it can shine only by its reflection in the admiring eyes of others; it lives truly only in the world's good report. This proves it to be perishable indeed; for honors can vanish, good opinion can be lost; and so honor and detraction become but two sides of the same coin. Nothing can hope to stand as an ultimate value that depends for its life upon the approbation of men: it is too fragile. Falstaff is right to scorn it and to ask for life, instead: praise and all the rest of it are only words, and words are air. Such honor is illusion; and, unless a man regard it cynically for what he can get from it, as Falstaff does, it can only lead to the bitter disillusionment Hotspur suffers at his death.

There could scarcely be two more dissimilar characters than Hotspur and Falstaff. Yet, though they differ in the value they place upon honor, they see it alike in one respect. Both confuse its subjective and objective aspects, the doer and the beholder, the action and the report. This reveals a further similarity: such honor as Hotspur covets, and Falstaff exploits, is at base self-regarding.¹³ And self-regard is really disguised self-praise: "Whatever praises itself but in the deed, devours the deed in the praise."¹⁴ Both men are fundamentally self-seeking. It is this in Hotspur, rather than the faults for which his uncle Worcester schools him (III.i), that "leaves behind a stain Upon the beauty of all parts besides, Beguiling them of commendation"; and it is only against this self-seeking aspect of honor that Falstaff can make any successful onslaught in the play.

If it were not so, the effect of his attack on honor would make dramatic hash of the four remaining scenes of the play, including its climax. The battle of Shrewsbury would be burlesque; the death of Hotspur, unaffecting; and Hal's reformation, impossible. None of this happens, of course; an audience, even while it laughs at a coward commending his own cowardice, admires courage and esteems an honorable action. Perhaps it does not studiously dissect either what Falstaff says or what Hotspur does; but, in a state of heightened awareness, it responds sensitively both to Falstaff's deflation of "air" from honor and to Hal's exhibition of true honor at Hotspur's death and after. Again, it is the

¹³ This contrast of Hotspur and Falstaff as "self-regarding" and Prince Hal as "unregarding" is indebted to Dover Wilson's *The Fortunes of Falstaff* (New York: Macmillan, 1944), as is my reading of the climax and dénouement: see Chap. IV, "The Prince Grows Up", pp. 60-81. For the prospective producer of the play, Wilson's is the most helpful book I know.

¹⁴ *Troilus and Cressida* II. iii.

action of the play which, in the theatre, prevents us from taking what is said at its face-value and elicits from us a truer response.

Critics have denied that Hal is a hero or even a friend.¹⁵ A man who will reject a friend should find it difficult to qualify as hero, but Hal succeeds in doing so. Falstaff's rejection is not merely foreshadowed in this play, to be effected in Part II; it actually occurs. And it is shrewdly placed in the action, for it comes at the outset of the battle, before we have seen Hal prove either his courage or his skill at arms, let alone the virtue of honor. Douglas has just killed Blunt, and Falstaff enters, fleeing from the peppering of his troops (V.iii). Having lost his own sword in fight, Hal accosts Falstaff as he stands idle and begs him for his, so that he may return to the field. Falstaff twice refuses to lend it to his friend and future sovereign, offering his pistol instead. Hal, when he finds that the pistol-case contains only a bottle of sack, flings it back with the angry cry, "What, is it a time to jest and dally now?" and returns to the fray.

It is a small incident, quickly over, but a telling one. It has the virtue of good dramatic action, for it makes its point unmistakably and clarifies the issues—better than would a speech which, coming from so lately reformed a truant, might sit ill with an audience and turn Hal from hero into prig. Even on a battlefield, Falstaff daffs the world aside and bids it pass; but Hal now meets it head on. He is committed to something beyond himself that exacts obedience, while Falstaff still goes his old way, committed only to his own interests. By rejecting the trifle in Falstaff, Hal shows he has rejected it in himself. There will be friendship between them hereafter, as we shall see, but its terms must change; have, in fact, as this action proves, already changed.

Yet after rejection comes reward.¹⁶ Once in the play Hal lied to save his friend's neck; and now he connives at his friend's lie, to help him grow great. Redeeming the time, he fulfills his oath, kills Percy, gains glory for himself, and shows its true worth—and his—by giving it away to his friend. Falstaff redeems the time, not by amending his life but by saving his skin: he plays dead, concocts the tale that *he* killed Percy, and, exploiting his friend's joy at his "resurrection", brazens his way to reward and glory. The rogue of the play ends with the outward show of gifts usually reserved for the hero. But, by gilding this boldest lie of all, Hal does more than let Falstaff make the most of the time; at one stroke, he separates false honor from true and ratifies his own reformation.

The super-objective may now be phrased thus: to redeem the time by securing the throne against the forces of disorder in the land—including the irresponsibility of the truant crown prince. It will be seen that the total action, of which Hal is the focus, has greater range and importance than that of his reformation alone; but also that, given the terms of the play as defined by the action,

¹⁵ Cf. John Masefield, *William Shakespeare*, Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, No. 2 (New York: Henry Holt, 1911), pp. 112-113, where an impressive bill of particulars is drawn up against the prince.

¹⁶ Cf. Harold Jenkins, *The Structural Problem in Shakespeare's HENRY THE FOURTH* (London: Methuen, 1956), esp. pp. 18-24. It suggests that Shakespeare changed the plan of *Part I* in the writing, delaying the rejection of Falstaff for another five acts. This would make the fat knight's reward part of the "improvised conclusion" that was substituted. Even so, the improvisation has a grand ironic rightness about it. And what else, one asks, could better drive home the nature and extent of Hal's reformation than his unselfish decision to gild his friend's lie for all it may be worth to him?

the single, overriding objective could not be achieved without it. The enormous range of the action—so wide as to seem to threaten the unity of the play as the rebellion threatens the unity of the kingdom—actually dramatizes the many vicissitudes of the crown in coping with the lawlessness of field and tavern. What is at stake is nothing less than the peace and health of the whole nation, for they are intimately tied up with the kingship. Against this panorama of disorder stands Hal; and we are to judge whether, in fulfilling his oath, he exhibits those qualities which will equip him to rule.

Thus, the theme of the play is the education of a prince to a realization of his duty and acceptance of the burden it imposes. We, too, learn from the play, although our education may not be the same as Hal's. We learn much that he cannot know, for we contemplate the world of the play, and he inhabits it. But action is its own teacher, and Hal learns in the event. With Percy dead before him, bound by two paces of the vilest earth, he knows the hollowness of self-regarding honor, as he has known the falseness of detraction. Both are counterfeit. And so his view of honor cannot be either Hotspur's—that it is everything in life—nor Falstaff's trim reckoning—that it is nothing but air. His knowledge cannot reconcile: it must surmount. He holds courage in high regard, as he proves by his courtesy in freeing captured Douglas. But, by letting Falstaff claim the reward for Hotspur's death, he also shows that, just as honor can be destroyed by detraction, so it can be created by a lie. For him, only the deed is sufficient to itself: it is true and irreversible, regardless of what men may make of it. It is achieved by submission to the demands of duty which are superior to those of honor, though requiring to be honorably fulfilled. Duty needs no self-regarding, and permits none. Its ultimate demand upon a man destined to be king is self-sacrifice. Prince Hal proves equal to the demand. Thus, before our eyes, his action gives proof of his reformation.

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Falstaff's Green Sickness Unto Death

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most elusive line of Shakespeare's—one upon which an unusually large amount of commentary has been written especially of late—is Mistress Pistol's allusion to Falstaff's dying moments ("his nose was as sharpe as a Pen, and a Table of greene fields").¹ Most of the significant scholarship on it, dating principally from Theobald's famous emendation of "a babbled" for "a Table", is covered in Professor Ephim G. Fogel's recent article, "'A Table of Green Fields': A Defense of the Folio Reading."² With the realization that "Table" often had the figurative meaning of "picture" for the Elizabethans,³ scholars have noticeably shifted their interest from "Table" to "greene".⁴ Though Professor Fogel's belief that "greene" here refers to the pallor of death warrants due consideration, one should notice that he qualifies his proposal by admitting that "there is of course an element of exaggeration in Mistress Quickly's 'a Table of greene fields.' A pale sickly-sallow, or bilious complexion is not nearly as green as grass" (p. 489). For Professor A. A. Mendilow demonstrated at the same time that the Hostess did *not* exaggerate—at least when she referred to the "burning quotidian tertian" (proven to be "an exact medical description").⁵ It may then be misleading to infer that she exaggerated when she spoke of "greene fields", should the connotative value of her remark be one which does not derive its effect from mere hyperbole. For instance, "greene", as used in this context, might also be appropriate in still another context (as applicable to Falstaff's complexion prior to his death). If so, the Hostess' description could indicate an extension or even parody, rather than an exaggeration, of his usual appearance.

What then was the color of Falstaff before his death? To understand this, one must take into account Renaissance psychology and the Galenic theory of the humours. The fact that Shakespeare was indeed aware of the conventional relationship of color to humour is evident especially in *Love's Labour's Lost*

¹ *Henry V*, II. iii. 16-18. Except for this passage, which is quoted from the Kökeritz-Prouty facsimile of the Folio of 1623, all Shakespearian quotations are from the Nielson and Hill edition.

² *SQ*, IX (1958), 485-492.

³ Cf. Fr. *tableau*. Malone made the initial suggestion (see Fogel, p. 486); it has been formally accepted by Fogel, Hotson, Gittings, and most recently by Nathan in *N&Q*, n.s., IV (1959), 92-94.

⁴ The emendation of "talked" (instead of "babbled"), which was proposed before Theobald's, has been criticized by E. Schanzer in *Essays in Criticism*, VI (1956), 119-121. The current interpretation of "Table" is prevailing largely because paleographical evidence suggests that a compositor's error was unlikely (as Malone already pointed out) and since the word can be adequately accounted for as it stands. Professor S. F. Johnson's attempt to revive the "talked" emendation in "'A Table of Green Fields' Once More", *SQ*, X (1959), 450-451, fails to take into consideration the fact that "Table" is *capitalized* (so the additional emendation he cites is not really parallel). It is commonplace knowledge that, when Shakespeare's intentions may best be ascertained from an original reading, an emendation is superfluous.

⁵ "Falstaff's Death of a Sweat", *SQ*, IX (1958), 479.

("green indeed is the colour of lovers"—I. ii. 90). Here green is compared with red and white (conventional symbols for passion and innocence respectively) and shown to relate to any one of the four temperaments (sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic, bilious), to any two or three of them taken together, or to them all at once. Since sickness was defined in terms of a lack of balance in (or a dis-ordering of) the bodily humours, a "green lover" could be either a bit off balance or severely ill. One of the most characteristic sicknesses, love melancholy ("the lover's malady" or *Amor*), was noted especially in young girls. This was not only due to the fact that the female was considered more susceptible to emotional disturbances than the male, but that her monthly flow of blood could be a physically greater hardship when complicated by disappointment in love (a problem no longer so pronounced since proper hygienic methods have been devised).⁶ The menstrual affliction was often designated "green sickness" (chlorosis); a description of it is already cited in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (Lib. L: v, 729); when it was thought to be a definite result of love melancholy, it was termed *febris amatoria* (later "chlorose par amour" by de Sauvage). But the psychological aspects of love melancholy could also produce a physical effect in the adult male (somewhat analogous to that found in the female), and of this Shakespeare was apparently well aware. Thus it is not improbable that Falstaff himself might have had the very "male green sickness" to which he so contemptuously refers in his panegyric on sack (2 *Henry IV*, IV. iii. 92-135).

The green sickness was so called because it was recognized by a pale-green, anemic appearance and an accompanying lack of vitality, caused by an iron deficiency in the blood.⁷ The use of iron for restoring the health of an emaciated person is prescribed in Greek mythology (Iphylus is cured when he drinks iron rust dissolved in wine),⁸ and it is referred to by both Hippocrates (*De Morbis Virginum*) and Galen—the two Renaissance medical authorities mentioned by Shakespeare. Sydenham (b. 1624) was the first physician to employ iron in the treatment of chlorosis (which he considered a species of *Affectionis Hystericae*).⁹ The sickness was cited often enough in Renaissance treatises, the classical account of it being Johann Lange's *De Morbo Virgineo. Medicinatum Epistolarum Miscellanea*.¹⁰ It was further analyzed by numerous other Renaissance medical authorities including Mercatus, Ambroise Paré, and Ballonius in his *De Virginum et Mulierum Morbis*.¹¹ And just as the green sickness was associated with love melancholy, so this melancholy was often identified by a green complexion. Lawrence Babb notes in *The Elizabethan Malady* that "black bile causes discoloration of the skin. The *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni* mentions 'earthye browne' and 'grene' as melancholic hues (fol. cxliii)." ¹² Finally, Burton's treatment of the malady in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* is as follows:

⁶ But it is still a medical problem whether dysmenorrhea has a primarily physical or psychological origin.

⁷ However, "it was not until 1838 that it was classified as a disease of the blood itself." W. M. Fowler, "Chlorosis—An Obituary," *Annals of Med. Hist.*, n.s., VIII (1936), 170.

⁸ Fowler, p. 173.

⁹ Thomas Sydenham, *Opera Omnia*, ed. G. A. Greenhill (London, 1844), p. 377.

¹⁰ Epistles XX-XXI (Basel, 1554).

¹¹ Paris, 1643. See also F. Hoffman's *De chlorosis indole, origine et curatione genuina* (Emmerick, 1731).

¹² *The Elizabethan Malady* (East Lansing, 1951), p. 136n.

A reason for this, Jason Pratensis gives, "because of the distraction of the spirits the liver doth not perform his part, nor turns the aliment into blood as it ought, and for that cause the members are weak for want of sustenance. . . ." The green sickness therefore often happeneth to young women, a cachexia or an evil habit to men, besides their ordinary sighs, complaints and lamentations, which are too frequent.¹³

Modern medical research has augmented the study of chlorosis considerably, verifying two interesting facts: (1) The illness may indeed occur in the male;¹⁴ and (2) it can be complicated with heart trouble and general emotional disturbances so that death may result.¹⁵

Before deciding whether or not Falstaff could have had "the greens", one would do well to examine the plays of Shakespeare wherein Falstaff is not mentioned for references to the sickness. The following passages are typical:

Arise, fair sun, and kill the envious¹⁶ moon,
Who is already sick and pale with grief
That thou, her maid, art far more fair than she.
Be not her maid, since she is envious;
Her vestal livery is but sick and green. . . .

(*Romeo and Juliet* II. ii. 4-8)

Out, you green-sickness carrion! Out, you baggage! You tallow-face!

(*Romeo and Juliet* III. v. 157)

And with a green and yellow melancholy. . . .

she pin'd in thought,

(*Twelfth Night* II. iv. 115-116)

O, beware, my lord, of jealousy! It is the green-ey'd monster. . . .

(*Othello* III. iii. 165-166)

¹³ III, ii, 3 (London, 1907), p. 551. See also T. Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie*, reproduced from the 1586 ed. of Thomas Vautrollier (New York, 1940), on the harmful effects of "newe wine, beare or ale" (p. 30) and how perturbations may affect the heart (p. 81).

¹⁴ The fact that chlorosis has often been considered as affecting the male as well as the female is apparent from studies listed in *The Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office*, II (1881), 982-989, e.g. S. Fox, *Observations on the disorders of the general health of females, called chlorosis; shewing the true cause to be entirely independent of peculiarities of sex*. 8° (London, 1839); Benoit, "Deux observations de chlorose chez l'homme", *Gaz. d. hôp.*, XXVI (Paris, 1854), 27; L.-J. Jugan, *De la chlorose dans les deux sexes, au point de vue des affections nerveuses*. 4° (Paris, 1854); Lemaire, "Chlorose et chloro-anémie chez l'homme", *France Méd.*, I (Paris, 1854), 7-9; and T. Inman, "On male chlorosis and allied diseases", *Liverpool M. & S. Rep.*, V (1871), 133-138. Cf. the earlier OED references: 1628 Ford *Lover's Mel.* III, ii, "What a green-sickness-liver'd boy is this!" and 1822-34 *Good's Study Med.* (ed. 4) IV. 83, "green-sick boys, as well as green sick girls."

¹⁵ G. A. Gibson writes, "This, then, is a case of chlorosis. The defective condition of the blood has caused malnutrition of the heart-muscle as well as of the rest of the muscular system." "On the Signs of Chlorosis", *Lancet* (Sept. 22, 1877), 419. That death was a possible consequence is cited by Secretain in "Trois cas de chlorose terminés par la mort", *Rapp. gén. trav. Soc. d. sc. méd. de Grannat*, X (1855-1856), 74-79. Galen already believed that melancholy could afflict the heart when he wrote that "the Vital Vertue moveth . . . Sadness, sorrow, fear, sighing, etc. by compressing the Heart", *Art of Physick* (London, 1662), p. 8. See also L. E. H. Whitby and C. J. C. Britton, *Disorders of the Blood*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia, 1939): "With efficient treatment the prognosis [of chlorosis] is favourable, but death has occurred from pulmonary embolism, thrombosis of the cerebral sinuses, and as the result of an associated gastric ulcer" (p. 187). And see Paul Wood, *Diseases of the Heart and Circulation*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1956), pp. 897-902. Note that the protagonist of Henry Shirley's *The Martyr'd Souldier* (1638) significantly remarks at one point, "let me lamentably and most unmanly dye of the Greene-sickness" (III. iii).

¹⁶ Cf. the expression "green with envy". Jealousy was a common cause of *febris amatoria*.

Now the pox upon her green-sickness for me. . . .¹⁷

(*Pericles* IV. vi. 14-15)

Lepidus,

Since Pompey's feast, as Menas says, is troubled
With the green sickness. . . .

(*Antony and Cleopatra* III. ii. 3-6)

Since chlorosis was similar in cause and effect to jaundice, two more quotations should be considered:

And let my liver rather heat with wine,
Than my heart cool with mortifying groans,
. . . and creep into the jaundice by being peevish. (*The Merchant of Venice* I. i. 81-86)

What grief hath set the jaundice on your cheeks? (*Troilus and Cressida* I. iii. 2)

The quotation from *Antony and Cleopatra* is most interesting with regard to Falstaff, for it indicates (as Dr. Chesney remarks) "that a condition analogous to chlorosis in girls was recognized as sometimes afflicting males, even at that early date."¹⁸ The knight's reference to weak individuals falling into "a kind of male green sickness" may then be taken quite literally (his speech, incidentally, may be compared with the similar reference to jaundice in *The Merchant of Venice* above):

Good faith, this same young sober-blooded boy doth not love me, nor a man cannot make him laugh; but that's no marvel, he drinks no wine. There's never none of these demure boys come to any proof; for thin drink doth so over-cool their blood, and making many fish-meals, that they fall into a kind of male green-sickness; and then, when they marry, they get wenches. (*2 Henry IV*, IV. iii. 93-101)

The panegyric as a whole is "full of mock learning"¹⁹ and, if one considers the enormous quantities of sack the fellow drinks and the very little food he eats along with it (as Prince Henry says, "O, monstrous! but one half-penny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack"—*1 Henry IV*, II. iv. 591-592), one can hardly believe that he was successful in attempting to overcome his tendency towards melancholy.²⁰ In *2 Henry IV* he already has "a yellow cheek" (I. ii. 204) and considers himself melancholic (II. iv. 294). Professor Samuel A. Small remarks that his "realization of the increasing limitations of old age directs his attention to a great extent towards abstract inquiries on the passing of time, which indicates a melancholy strain"²¹ and lists "twenty-two different kinds of mental reaction [Falstaff has], which, taken together, display a high intellectual

¹⁷ Occasionally chlorosis resulted from syphilis. See P. Ricord, "De la chlorose syphilitique, et de son traitement", *Bull. gén. de therap.*, XXVII (1844), 111-114.

¹⁸ *Shakespeare as a Physician* (Chicago, St. Louis, Atlanta, 1884), p. 62.

¹⁹ Paul N. Siegel in the *Explicator*, LX (1950), #9. Mr. Siegel suggests that Falstaff here "parodies the orthodox analogy between the commonwealth and 'this little kingdom, man'" when the knight implies that "he, as a kind of foster-father, has weaned the Prince away from moral responsibility. . . ."

²⁰ See Ruth Sims, "The Green Old Age of Falstaff", *Bull. Hist. Med.*, XIII (1943), 152. The aesthetic quality associated with the color green (as is particularly evident in the poetry of Marvell) was even imputed to the sickness. Consider Lord Herbert's two poems on "The Green-Sickness Beauty".

²¹ "The Reflective Element in Falstaff," *SAB*, XIV (1939), 108. He cites Sir Sidney Lee, who, in his *Life of William Shakespeare*, "saw clearly that the greatness of Falstaff depended on a strain of melancholy to complete his dramatic appeal."

type of melancholia. . . ." (pp. 139 ff.). On the other hand, both Ruth Sims and John W. Draper prefer to consider Falstaff's principal disposition in different terms (the former thinking that he is basically choleric but "pretends to enjoy the sanguine disposition"²² and the latter believing that he is basically phlegmatic "under a cover of the assumed disguise of choler").²³ But these distinctions are really irrelevant if one considers how chlorosis may result (as Shakespeare points out) either from one of the temperaments or from several of them joined together (to which Galen alludes in his *Art of Physick*). Draper, however, significantly quotes Earle's *Microcosmographie*: "a 'High Spirited Man' whose hopes are contravened 'turns desperately melancholy'" (p. 67). This is an excellent description of Falstaff, who reaches a peak of emotion upon seeing Hal crowned ("My King, my Jove! I speak to thee, my heart!"—*2 Henry IV*, V. v. 49-50), and is consequently rejected by the king, sent to prison, and then becomes ill. Is it any wonder that, when his hopes are denied, he endures the melancholy of a breaking heart? Regardless of how melancholy he was before the rejection (although I do find Professor Small's analysis most meaningful), he certainly became that way afterwards. That his condition was chlorotic seems probable on the basis of the medical relationship between heart trouble and the green color associated with *febris amatoria*. Galen writes:

Afflictions of Heart are known by difficulty of Breath, and also by the trembling and usual motion of the Heart itself, by the motion of the Pulses, by heat of the Body, either soon heating or soon cooling, by Feavers and Shiverings, by change of colour, fainting, and pain. (P. 110)

Some modern commentators refuse to accept the fact that Falstaff died of a broken heart, neglecting to realize that lovesickness was taken "quite literally" by the Elizabethans and could be "a very critical malady."²⁴ Thus John Dover Wilson contends that "neither ague nor 'sweat' has anything to do with a broken heart,"²⁵ and William B. Hunter, Jr., writes that "a broken heart is doubtful in that old ruffian's case; the final results of overindulgence are more plausible."²⁶ These analysts apparently do not wish to recognize that the Hostess' remark, "The King has killed his heart", with the subsequent discussion of his condition, is the only reason for Falstaff's death explicitly cited in the play; they ignore Bradley's straightforward assertion that "we learn that Falstaff quickly died and, according to the testimony of persons not very sentimental, died of a broken heart."²⁷ And their objections can be easily answered. Mr. Empson writes:

I think there is a quick answer to the idea that the old brute had no heart, and therefore could not have died of breaking it. If he had had no heart he would have had no power, not even to get a drink, and he had a dangerous amount of power. I am not anxious to present Falstaff's heart as a very attractive object; you might say that it had better be called his vanity. . . . I

²² Sims, 157.

²³ *The Humors and Shakespeare's Characters* (Durham, 1945), p. 113.

²⁴ Lawrence Babb, "Love Melancholy in the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Drama", *Bull. Hist. Med.*, XIII (1943), 117.

²⁵ William Empson, "Falstaff and Mr. Dover Wilson", the *Kenyon Review*, XV (1953), 221.

²⁶ "Falstaff", the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, L (1951), 86.

²⁷ "The Rejection of Falstaff", *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (London, 1919), 251.

daresay that the wincing away from the obvious . . . which I seem to find in recent critics is due to a distaste for homosexuality, which is regarded nowadays in more practical terms than the Victorian ones; the idea of Falstaff making love to the Prince, they may feel, really has to be resisted. (P. 255)

He concludes that the Elizabethan audience would naturally assume "that any coming thief (let alone the Prince) would be too vain to yield to such deformity." The notion then of the love which Falstaff has for Hal may best be understood in terms of brotherly affection or friendship (perhaps, as Professor Edward Hubler puts it when he deals with a similar problem in Shakespeare's sonnets, as "a tribute to the neo-platonic tradition").²⁸ The best answer to J. D. Wilson's challenge that the "sweat" is not related to a "broken heart" is Professor Mendilow's assertion that Falstaff had "weakened himself by riding 'day and night' to meet Hal, 'stained with Trauaille, and sweating with desire to see him' . . . Hal it was who administered the final blow . . ." (p. 480). Mendilow's argument then is that Falstaff was sweating to see Hal, was further weakened by the rejection, and consequently was susceptible to the real "sweating sickness" or plague.

The possibility that Falstaff actually died of *both* the plague and a broken heart is very suggestive, and Professor Mendilow cites a wealth of evidence in his favor. But before one should accept this categorically, certain opposing factors must be considered: (1) The fact that the "Dancer" reciting the epilogue at the end of 2 *Henry IV* says "for any thing I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat" does not necessarily mean that the Knight's "sweating sickness" meant that he actually had the plague—especially since neither sickness is mentioned explicitly in the play; (2) the plague was a seriously contagious disease and it seems improbable that the Hostess would have examined Falstaff's body as she did or have coaxed his friends to come to the bedside if he had this illness; and (3) the description of his death has also been considered "classic" (somewhat in the sense of a *typical* account of death in general), due to "marsh poison,"²⁹ and as a reminiscence of the death of Socrates. This last proposal (that Falstaff's death is like Socrates') was suggested some time ago by Professor Wilson and has been examined in detail recently by Roger Lloyd, who quotes parallel passages from Plato and Shakespeare in a most convincing fashion.³⁰ Furthermore, W. B. Dillingham writes that "it was generally believed that the person with an excess of black bile [i.e. who was melancholic] did not love quickly, but once his love was formed, *either for women or in true friendship*, it was uncommonly deep and lasting."³¹ He then cites Marsilio Ficino's *Commentary on Plato's Symposium*, remarking in a note that "Ficino gives the example of Socrates, who 'was undoubted [sic] melancholy by nature,' and was 'the most genuine lover of all.'"³²

But to furnish an exact medical diagnosis of Falstaff's final ailment is not the real purpose of this paper. I am concerned here rather with his sickness *unto* death, with the deeper (rather than merely overt) causes of the agony. Physi-

²⁸ *The Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Princeton, 1952), p. 153.

²⁹ Chesney, p. 160. The most recent medical analysis suggests that he succumbed to typhoid fever. See R. R. Simpson, *Shakespeare and Medicine* (Edinburgh and London, 1959), 52-57.

³⁰ "Socrates and Falstaff", *Time and Tide* (Feb. 22, 1958), 219-220.

³¹ "Antonio and Black Bile", *N&Q*, n.s., IV (1957), 419. (Italics mine.)

³² Ficino apparently forgot about Christ.

cians now commonly accept as fact that death is not merely a single occurrence but has various stages. Thus the question arises whether it can be said to be due principally to the final stage or to the weakened condition which made the body susceptible to the ultimate disease. The Renaissance doctor most readily believed that, for all practical purposes, death occurred when the heart stopped beating—as here when the *febris amatoria* was such that the heart was “breaking” because of lack of sufficient iron in the blood. I admit that it is quite possible that Falstaff could have died of the plague in a manner somehow reminiscent of the death of Socrates, but I submit that, from an overall consideration, he succumbed more to a “green death” than to the “black death” in that his iron deficiency anemia (resulting largely from the love, jealousy, and frustration he experienced) discolored his skin. His nose (which may have been a prominent one indeed) thus acquired a greenish tinge—an ironic commentary upon his previous jokes about Bardolph’s nose and upon the theory of drinking sack as a preventive measure. Later in *Henry V*, the King seems ironically to refer to his former companion’s death when he tells his wife-to-be:

But, before God, Kate, I cannot look greenly, nor gasp out my eloquence.
 . . . I speak to thee plain soldier: if thou canst love me for this, take me; if not, to say to thee that I shall die, is true; but for thy love, by the Lord, no; yet I love thee too. (V. ii. 147-159)

Here there are clear echoes of Falstaff’s green nose and final expostulations (“God, God, God!”—*Henry V*, II. iii. 20), of his earlier rhetorical brilliance and his confession to Hal: “Thy love is worth a million; thou ow’st me thy love” (1 *Henry IV*, III. iii. 156). But what reason did Shakespeare have for allowing this Old Soldier to be rejected? Why, in other words, was it convincing that Falstaff should die of the *febris amatoria*?

The usual reason given for the rejection is that it would have been undignified for the newly-crowned King to have accepted his former companion. Indeed it would have been more than undignified: it would have been imprudent; for, as Mr. Empson observes, the Knight was becoming “dangerously strong, . . . almost a rebel leader.”³³ The suggestion then (by J. I. M. Stewart and the late Philip Williams) that the King “sacrifices” Falstaff³⁴ is as dubious as Mr. Alexander’s proposal that the rejection was “nothing else than a dramatic presentation of what in psychoanalysis we call repression.”³⁵ The true reason for the rejection and consequent death can be ascertained best from the plays themselves.³⁶ And a most convincing means of uncovering Shakespeare’s intentions

³³ P. 256. Cf. Professor Draper’s theory that the Knight had become a parasite. G. K. Hunter writes in “Shakespeare’s Politics and the Rejection of Falstaff”, the *Critical Quarterly*, I (1959), 229-236, that “*Henry IV* presents very prominently a debate between the private values of Falstaff and the public values of the House of Lancaster, and this culminates in the rejection of Shakespeare’s best-loved character” (231-232).

³⁴ Stewart’s *Character and Motive in Shakespeare* presents the Jungian position, which is accepted by Williams in “The Birth and Death of Falstaff Reconsidered”, *SQ*, VIII (1957), 359-365, and by G. K. Hunter *supra*.

³⁵ F. Alexander, “A Note on Falstaff”, *Psychoanalytic Q*, II (1933), 598.

³⁶ External evidence has not been as fruitful as has been internal. Thus W. D. Gray’s attempt in “The Roles of Will Kemp”, *MLR*, XXV (1930), 261, to show that Falstaff dies because of the withdrawal of Will Kemp from Shakespeare’s company was objected to by T. W. Baldwin in “Will Kemp not Falstaff”, *MLR*, XXVI (1931), 170-172, and in his *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company* (Princeton, 1927). Walter’s suggestion that “Oldcastle’s descend-

in them is to locate an anticipation of the final ending. Whether or not he was entirely aware of the final effect pursuant to such an anticipation while he was formulating the latter is not necessarily apropos; what is significant is that, when the time came for him to complete a story, he could then have turned back to decide what end would be most fitting with respect to what he had thus far written (although he could have, with his anticipation, looked ahead *towards* the denouement). Now a remarkable thing about Falstaff is that he experiences not merely one death but *three preceding symbolic ones* which anticipate his final physical demise (when he feigns death on the battlefield, is thrown in a laundry basket full of dirty clothes into the Thames, and when he plays the role of the victim in the ritual known as "carrying out Death").³⁷ The fact that two of these occur in *The Merry Wives* lends some weight to Mr. Troy's argument that this play was written and presented after 2 *Henry IV* and before *Henry V*.³⁸

These three anticipations signify again how complex an individual Falstaff is and how fitting it is that his death should then be as complex and dramatic as his life. To consider him complex is not, of course, to reduce him merely to an Elizabethan hybrid³⁹ or to think of his actions in terms of Dramatic Ambiguity, an Empsonian expression which, among other things, would acquit the Knight of charges of deliberate equivocation. In Gestaltist terms, Falstaff's individuality consists of more than the sum of characteristics which would constitute either a hybrid or an ambiguous character whose speech is composed of various strata of meaning. It is precisely this individuality which made the Elizabethan audience laugh at him. And his death might have been the funniest thing of all, for it represented a *humorous* ending for a *witty* man, of which Morgann already seems to have been aware.⁴⁰ Bradley's comments are also revealing:

It is difficult to believe that Shakespeare really intended to invest his fat knight with any element of pathos. The Elizabethans were not sentimental about fat men, and a tragic Falstaff would have been a violation of stage tradition.⁴¹

ants appealed to the Master of Revels who may have been 'in fact the official burning quotidian tertian that cut out Falstaff' is inconclusive. "With Sir John In it", *MLR*, XLI (1946), 237-245.

³⁷ Cf. Mr. Alexander's suggestion that "Falstaff dies once but revives three times" (p. 603). Reference to this "elaborate ritual of the defeat of winter known to folklorists as 'carrying out Death'" is cited by Northrop Frye in his *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, 1957), p. 183. Cf. Paul N. Siegel, "Foreshadowings of Cleopatra's Death", *N&Q*, n.s., V (1958), 386-387. Similar anticipations of the rejection scene in both parts of *Henry IV* are well-known.

³⁸ "Why Falstaff Dies in 'Henry V.'", *Poet-Lore*, VIII (1896), 330-332. Mr. Troy's main argument is that the Elizabethan audience began to lose sympathy for Falstaff in *The Merry Wives* so that his death in *Henry V* was not so offensive.

³⁹ See Bernard Spivack, "Falstaff and the Psychomachia", *SQ*, VIII (1957), 449-459.

⁴⁰ Morgann himself implies this when he remarks,

Dye, it seems, he must, in one form or another, and a *sweat* would have been no unsuitable catastrophe. However we have reason to be satisfied as it is,—his death was worthy of his birth and of his life. 'He was born,' he says, 'about three o'clock in the afternoon with a white head and something [sic] a round belly.' But if he came into the world in the evening with these marks of age, he departs out of it in the morning in all the follies and vanities of youth. . . .

Morgann's *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff*, ed. William Arthur Gill (London, 1912), p. 184.

⁴¹ *Shakespearean Studies* (New York, 1929), p. 67.

I recall in this connection a dramatic performance of *Hamlet* I saw recently wherein a scene which provoked some laughter from the audience was when Ophelia entered and, distracted with love melancholy, passed flowers around (just as the Hostess saw Falstaff "play with flowers"). I was therefore much interested in a remark by John Dryden in his *Essay of Dramatick Poesy*: "I have observed in all our tragedies, the audience cannot forbear laughing when the actors are to die; it is the most comick part of the whole play." It seems to me then that the announcement of Falstaff's death could have caused considerable merriment in the Elizabethan audience—especially with the Hostess' reference to his green nose, which is immediately contrasted with Bardolph's red one. Thus, instead of being *pathetic*, Falstaff's death is really *bathetic*—a humorous, ironic descent of the Knight from the sublimity of a carefree existence to the absurdity of a death resulting, directly or indirectly, from "a kind of male green sickness". It is indeed a master stroke of Shakespeare's that the wittiest of his creations should die in such a frankly humorous manner, that Falstaff's very wit, as revealed in the panegyric on sack, should then ironically become a commentary on his lack of true self-knowledge.

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A sixteenth-century stage with actors (?) and musicians. In the foreground, and art left, simultaneous scenes from the story of the Prodigal Son. Reproduced from the unique copy of *Jack Jugler* (third edition, c. 1565-1570) in the Folger Shakespeare Library. See p. 86.

Henry V and Germanicus

GEORGE R. PRICE



IN *Henry V*, in the first scene of Act IV, Harry of England mingles with his wakeful soldiery on the night before Agincourt. The motive for the King's act is implied rather than expressed in his explanation to Sir Thomas Erpingham as he dismisses the brave old man:

I and my bosom must debate a while,
And then I would no other company.¹

The dramatic quality of the scene largely depends, of course, on irony, for Henry has borrowed Sir Thomas' cloak, both for warmth and to cover from the revealing light of camp-fires the insignia of royalty on his own clothing and armor. The greater part of the scene is given to the King's three encounters, first with Pistol, next with Fluellen and Gower, and then with Bates, Court, and Williams.

In a short dialogue with Pistol, Henry comes to understand him well enough; but probably the rascal's eulogy gives him pleasure, anyway:

The King's a bawcock, and a heart of gold,
A lad of life, an imp of fame;
Of parents good, of fist most valiant.
I kiss his dirty shoe, and from heart-string
I love the lovely bully. (45-48)

Standing aside, Henry overhears Fluellen cautioning Gower to be quieter, and at the end he expresses his regard for Fluellen:

Though it appear a little out of fashion,
There is much care and valour in this Welshman. (85-86)

The encounter with the three conscripts shows them ready to challenge the morality of war; the King has to argue the question of his answerability for the sufferings of his soldiers, even for his men's eternal destiny if "they die unprovided" in battle. Left alone again, Henry ruminates on his

¹ Lines 31-32. I use the numbering in the Cambridge Edition of *The Complete Plays and Poems*, ed. W. A. Neilson and C. J. Hill, 1942.

hard condition,
 Twin-born with greatness. . . .
 What watch the King keeps to maintain the peace,
 Whose hours the present best advantages. (250-251, 300-301)

Although by using disguise Henry learns the quality and temper of his men, the debate with the soldiers does not seem to change his own opinion at all. He refutes them readily and in the following soliloquy meditates only on the small recompense that Ceremony gives for the loneliness and responsibility of kingship. One should conclude, therefore, that Shakespeare is primarily emphasizing Henry's common touch, his willingness to understand his men, rather than raising a moral problem which Henry has already settled for himself.

In the poems and chronicles which recite the battle of Agincourt I have not found one which offers any hint of Henry's night-time visit to his men, nor is there any suggestion of it in *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (1598). Holinshed, presumably the major source of Shakespeare's play, tells that the night before the battle the English reconciled themselves with God through the sacraments; and in the morning when Henry's forces had taken their battle lines, "as he heard one of the host vtter his wish to another thus: I would to God there were with vs now so manie good soldiers as are at this houre within Eng-land! the king answered: I would not wish a man more here then I haue, we are indeed in comparison to the enimies, but a few, but if God of his clemencie doo fauour vs, and our iust cause (as I trust he will) we shall speed well enough."² This reply is the greatest degree of Henry's familiarity with his men that I have discovered in the chronicles. It would seem, then, that Shakespeare either invented the night scene or elaborated it from another source than the accepted story of Agincourt.

I do not find that any Shakespeare scholar has mentioned the following possibility. In 1598, the year before the production of *Henry V*, Richard Grenewey published his translation of Tacitus' *Annales* and *Description of Germanie* as a major part of the second edition of Sir Henry Savile's *Fower Bookes of the Histories* and *The Life of Agricola*. In Book II, chapters 5-25, of the *Annales* Tacitus describes a campaign by Germanicus and his legions against a formidable army of Germans under Arminius and Inguiomerus. The Romans penetrated the interior wilderness by embarking on a fleet and proceeding down the Rhine to the North Sea and then turning eastward to the mouth of the Ems. There they landed and after some difficulties marched inland to a position near the German encampment on the bank of the Weser. Although Germanicus led a powerful army, his scouts reported to him that they had heard "a great confuse[d] noise of men and horses." Because only six years had passed since Arminius had annihilated Varus and his legions in the Teutoberg forest, Germanicus was naturally concerned about morale.

Being therefore at a iumpe to hazard all, thinking it conuenient to sounde the soldiers minde, he bethought himselfe what was the fittest expedient to

² *The Third volume of Chronicles, beginning at duke William the Norman . . . continued . . . to the yeare 1586, 1587, signature [Ggg. iiiii].*

trie the truth. The Tribunes and Centurions brought him oftener, pleasing then true newes: the freed men were of seruile disposition: in friends there was flatterie: if he should call an assembly, that which a few should begin, the rest would applaude. That their minds would be best knownen, when they were by themselues; not ouerlooked: in eating and drinking they would vtter their feare or hope. As soon as it was night, going out at the Augural gate, accompanied with one alone, in secret and vnknownen places to the watch: casting a sauage beasts skin on his backe, he went from one place to another: stoode listning at the tents: and ioyeth in the praise of himselfe: some extolling the nobilitie of their Captaine; others his comely personage: many his patience, and courtesie: that in sports and serious matters he was still one man: confessing therefore that they thought it their parts, to make him some requitall in this battell, and sacrifice the traitors and peace-breakers to reuenge and glory.³

The next day brought a great victory. From nine in the morning till night-fall "the enemies were slaine, which filled ten miles of ground with carcasses, and armour." The Roman losses were slight. Among the things abandoned by the Germans in their flight were found chains that had been intended for captive Romans. (Sig. Di')

I do not suggest, of course, that Shakespeare turned to this translation for hints on how to dramatize the battle of Agincourt. But it is plausible to say that if by chance Shakespeare had read all or part of Grenewey's version of the *Annales*, his imagination would have been struck, not only by the device of the general's visiting his men in disguise, but also by likeness of character between Tacitus' hero and Harry the warrior-king. Patriotism, valor, justice, integrity, and humanity that aroused the admiration and loyalty of their troops are common features of their characters.

Scholars interested in Shakespeare's knowledge of the classics have not mentioned Tacitus among those writers that he seems to have read. Nor need it be said that he knew Tacitus well. But my suggestion may gain some consideration, if not final acceptance, from the fact that Grenewey's translation was dedicated to the Earl of Essex. Furthermore, none other than Ben Jonson reports that the Earl was author of the preface, "A.B. To the Reader", which was prefixed to the first edition of Savile's translation of *Histories* and *Agricola*, 1591; and this preface is reprinted in the edition of 1598.⁴ Everyone knows the eulogistic reference to Essex as English general in Ireland which Shakespeare inserted in the prologue to Act V of *Henry V*, lines 28-34. The dramatist's enthusiasm for the Earl in 1598 and early 1599 is not proof that he was a member of Essex's circle; but at least it allows the supposition that through friendship and talk with Southampton Shakespeare was led to look into the new edition of

³ My citations are to a microfilm of the Henry E. Huntington Library copy, No. 20470. Seemingly *Annales* and *Germanie* were printed to be bound with Savile's translations, but they are signed separately. The quoted passages are on signatures C5^v-C6^r.

⁴ *Conversations with Drummond*, in Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Herford and P. Simpson, I (1925), 149. Sir Edmund Bolton also mentions Essex's authorship, loc. cit., p. 167. Anthony Bacon, who was to become Essex's secretary and friend, and whose initials are appropriate for the preface, did not return from his travels on the Continent until early 1592. G. B. Harrison, *The Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex* (1937), p. 73.

Tacitus which had such strong associations with Essex.⁵ If Jonson knew who "A. B." was, there is ample reason to think Shakespeare knew also.⁶

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⁵ Savile himself was justifiably regarded as one of Essex's partisans and was in custody for a time after the rebellion. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure, I (1939), 121.

⁶ Only two Richard Greenways, both of Oxford, are known to me as possibly to be identified with the translator. The more likely one is mentioned as entered "clerk or chorister" at Corpus Christi in 1563, as fellow of St. John's in 1570, and as granted the B.A. in 1572. Presumably he was between forty and fifty years of age in 1598. This Richard may have been related, perhaps as a nephew, to Thomas Greenway, originally of Hampshire, who was president of Corpus Christi from 1562 to 1568. Besides Richard, who was entered during Thomas' presidency, a second Thomas Greenway was admitted to Corpus Christi in 1563 from Hampshire. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, II (1891), 600; Thomas Fowler, *The History of Corpus Christi College* (1893), 109; Anthony a Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* (1815), Part I, col. 121.

The other Richard Greenway was entered as a gentleman of Buckinghamshire at Magdalen College and matriculated on 5 November 1585, aged fifteen. It is not recorded that he took a degree. He would have been about twenty-eight in 1598. He was probably a member of the Greenways of Amersham Woodrow in the parish of Dinton, Buckinghamshire, possibly even the lord of that manor who died in 1619. It is not likely that he translated Tacitus. A considerable amount of information about this Greenway family is to be found in the *Victoria History of Buckinghamshire*, II-IV (1908-1927); see especially IV, 182-183.

Reviews

Shakespeare's Public: The Touchstone of his Genius. By MARTIN HOLMES. London: John Murray, 1960. Pp. xiv + 237. 25s.

It is well to be reminded occasionally that Shakespeare's plays were written in the first instance for performance before a known audience, whether that of the Globe, the theatres outside Bishopsgate, or Blackfriars. As Mr. Holmes of the London Museum says at the very beginning of his book:

The fact that Shakespeare was writing masterpieces of English literature is something secondary to his main intention; from the outset of his literary career he seems to have been a stout pillar of that much-decried institution the Commercial Theatre, making it his business to provide his regular theatre-public—and anyone else who could be induced to come—with entertainment of a sort likely to make them come again.

Much the same thing was being said early in the present century when Shakespeare was first studied as a practical playwright. It bears repeating.

On the other hand, our approach to poetic drama is very different from that of William Archer, say, or Brander Matthews, so that pronouncements which would have passed unnoticed in their time ring strangely coming from a critic today. When for example Mr. Holmes refers to *1 Henry VI* as a "mere collection of odd dramatic scenes out of a history-book" (page 7), or as a "crude string of anecdotes, unconnected by any real thread of story" (page 19), one can only feel that he has read his Tillyard to little purpose. The one mention of John Webster is significantly as the deviser, with Ford, of "far-fetched horrors . . . to intrigue a blasé and ultra-sophisticated audience that had supped full with horrors and needed to season its palate with corruption" (page 12).

On acting, and in particular the casting of the Shakespearian plays in their own time, this book contains a good deal of lively conjecture. I am not persuaded that the little boy who did Mamillius in *The Winter's Tale* is likely to have reappeared in the same play as Perdita, or that the talented actor who had once represented King John and Shylock would have condescended to perform Worcester in *1 Henry IV*. (The Worcesters in Mr. Hogan's eighteenth-century casts are a remarkably feeble lot.) Edward Alleyn is made the exponent of a ranting style antithetical to that of Burbage, but as Mr. W. A. Armstrong showed in *Shakespeare Survey* some years ago this idea has little basis in fact.

On the subject of Shakespeare's audience, its composition and taste and the differentiation to be made between the audiences of the public and private theatres, Professor Harbage has written so well that it would be surprising if his books were not known to Mr. Holmes, but I can find little evidence that they are known to him. For popular taste as such, he turns to the cinema and, interestingly, to modern audiences of soldiers. Not much use is made of the very extensive literature, romantic, informative, and moralistic, designed for the Elizabethan middle classes. The Citizen and his wife in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* are used—without reference to their obvious inexperience as playgoers. For Mr. Holmes, they represent the dignified supporters of the playhouses to the north of the City, as against the disreputable frequenters of those

on Bankside. *The First Part of Henry IV* was composed for the former; *The Second Part*, with its "often subtler, and usually lower" jokes, for the patrons of the Globe. He writes:

From the point of view of the citizen and his family there was all the difference in the world between walking out of the City into Finsbury Fields in search of entertainment and walking right *across* the City, crossing the Bridge or being ferried over the Thames, to go to an unfamiliar playhouse in a not very respectable neighbourhood.

To this one might answer that distances in Shakespeare's London were not great and that wherries seem to have been abundant.

Mr. Holmes finds parallels to the concluding scenes of *Richard II* in events connected with the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, but even if we grant that resemblances exist, the conclusion which he draws that the dramatist "while expressing and compelling sympathy for Richard, had contrived at the same time to justify the conduct of his supplanter", is very questionable. Somewhat more appealing, though still dubious, is the suggestion that the pitiful old age of Jane Shore had something to do with the introduction of Margaret in *Richard III*.

The better parts of the book seem to me those in which Mr. Holmes's knowledge of Elizabethan life enables him to correct popular misconceptions of Shakespeare's characters—the Duke in *Twelfth Night*, for instance, or the scholar and soldier Bassanio, both of whom he strongly defends. Indeed, I should call the pages on *The Merchant of Venice* the happiest in what is too often a disappointing treatment of an excellent subject.

Bryn Mawr College

ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE

Poets' Grammar: Person, Time and Mood in Poetry. By FRANCIS BERRY. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958. Pp. x + 190. 21s.

Mr. Berry has written a scintillating book, sometimes acute, brilliant, profound, at other times exasperating in what appear to be barefaced denials of prosaic fact. A poet of some eminence, he interprets as a poet, and perhaps he should receive criticism only from a poet. He is writing about poets' grammar, that is to say about the use of moods, tenses, and pronouns and other grammatical modes of expression to convey a meaning subtle and deep beyond what the mere form itself would seem to imply. He uses grammar to reinforce semantics.

For the purposes of the *Quarterly*, it will suffice to discuss the sections Mr. Berry devotes to Shakespeare. Roughly taken, they refer to "thou" and "you" in the Sonnets, and to various forms of tenses and moods in *Macbeth* and in the early and middle periods, ending with the "translation of mood" in the final plays.

The section on the problem of "thou" and "you" applied to the same person is the weakest. It makes no use of the "literature of the subject". Mr. Berry brushes Abbott and Franz on one side, although sections 289a and 289f in Franz anticipate most of what he has to say. Besides, he altogether ignores two fundamental works: Heinrich Spies, *Studien zur Geschichte des englischen Pronomens im xv. und xvi. Jahrhundert* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1897), and Sister St. Geraldine Byrne, *Shakespeare's Use of the Pronouns of Address, its Significance in Characterization and Motivation* (Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1936).

Mr. Berry's chief contribution to knowledge here is that he insists on seeing a double relationship, I-thou or I-you. The I-thou sonnets show in Shakespeare "a measure of self-regard or self-pity. He is thinking as much of himself as the youth." In the I-you sonnets the "you" is more a person, and "the 'I' who addresses him is then less the poet who will confer immortality than an ageing man, another *person*" [Mr. Berry's italics]. This confusion of *thou* and *you* applied to the same person, often in the same speech, even in the same sentence, runs through the whole of Shakespeare's work and the scholars mentioned above have treated it more or less exhaustively. Mr. Berry would have immensely improved his discussion if he had put the *you-thou* problem in the Sonnets in relation to Shakespeare's general usage and to the results scholars have already established.

Mr. Berry points out that as Shakespeare proceeded from "thou" to "you" he became "time-aware" and so "tense-conscious". He chops up his tenses into imperfect, pluperfect, etc. This is surely but another way of saying that as the Sonnets progress, his thought becomes more complex, his imagination more vivid, his treatment of human relationships more dramatic, his relationships themselves more varied and subtle—and all of this requires a different tense-structure. At the same time, Mr. Berry's criticism of Sonnet 129 is masterly. His demonstration of how Shakespeare's manifestation of verbal inflection creates the sonnet, makes the beauty of the sonnet, is a flawless example of how a sonnet ought to be studied.

In studying *Macbeth* Mr. Berry pitches tense against mood. The dominant tense of the play is the Future Indicative, but the dominant form *in* the play is the subjunctive. From the struggle between these two issues the tragedy. The play is full of prophecies, of things to come, and of plans, of things to do; this is the indicative world of what is, has been, or will be. But this world is crossed by the subjunctives, the private realm of possibilities, of hopes, "ifs", what ought or ought not to be, principally within Macbeth himself. There is one scene of relaxation, I. vi, in which Duncan describes the Castle in the present tense, "This Castle hath a pleasant seat./ The ayre nimbly and sweetly recommends itself / Unto our gentle senses." Mr. Berry thinks the relaxation in the scene owes as much to the present tense as it does to melody or imagery. [It owes perhaps most of all to the words "our gentle senses", by which Duncan can enjoy a moment Macbeth will never know.] Mr. Berry represents the action of Macbeth as →Future/, or Arrow to Future Bar, and he stresses the importance of the Future Indicative and of prophecy in creating action. Mr. Berry writes as a fellow craftsman. Just as a painter criticizing another painter will speak with feeling knowledge of his brush-work, so Mr. Berry discourses on how Shakespeare uses his tenses. Brush-work is a means by which the picture gets put on the canvas, but it is not the picture. Mr. Berry gives us admirable pointers for understanding Shakespeare's working methods, but the play as a whole escapes him. Mr. Berry is capable of penetrating much deeper into *Macbeth* than his method will allow him to.

In the Comedies Mr. Berry sees the verb tense to be a Continuous Present, i.e., "a tense where Past, Present and Future of the plot all move *against* the sense of a continuous *Now*" (p. 59)—Mr. Berry's italics. This applies even to *Romeo and Juliet*, it moves in time before us and yet is still. Are we, he says, more advanced in time in *The Merchant of Venice* when we arrive at Belmont in V. i? Here Lorenzo in the present indicative "creates the sense that 'such a night as this', which Lorenzo and Jessica are enjoying, is Continuously Present and is one with the night of all previous lovers. The customary means of creat-

ing this tense are the inflexions of the ordinary Present Indicative vibrantly intermingled with those of a tender Subjunctive of desire . . . these plays exist outside Time" (p. 60). For Mr. Berry "these plays" are a sort of Grecian urn. "For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair!"

Mr. Berry develops this theory and turns and twists it in many applications. It is not the whole truth about Shakespeare—whoever does give that?—but Mr. Berry is decidedly worth while. From his point of view he is able to observe poetical nuances that prosaic critics have missed.

Mr. Berry extends his observations to Tournour's *Revenger's Tragedy*, to Beaumont and Fletcher, and to Donne. Outside the period covered by the *Quarterly*, he writes masterly appreciations of the mediaeval carol "He bare hym up, he bare hym down", and of Marvell's *Coy Mistress*, Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale* and Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind*. Mr. Berry has an inside knowledge of the poet's craft which ordinary mortals can not hope to attain, and therefore whatever he has to say about poetry deserves attention. His book is a valuable addition to Shakespeare scholarship.

Washington, D. C.

HEREWARD T. PRICE

The Young Shakespeare. By ROSEMARY ANNE SISSON. Illustrated. Pp. 160. New York: Roy, 1960. \$3.00.

This imaginative story of the young William Shakespeare will make a valuable contribution to its readers' understanding of a boy who lived in the days of the first Queen Elizabeth. The usual image of the great playwright is that of a dignified gentleman, the Shakespeare of the portraits, with massive brow, thin mustache and beard, velvet doublet and white ruff. Quite different is the lively picture which Miss Sisson presents of the young poet.

Here is the small boy on his way to the Stratford school, carrying the fine leather book-satchel, made in his father's own glover's shop. Here is the older lad, bent over his wooden desk, wielding his goose-quill pen as he quickly puts his Virgil translations into verse. Then follows the fifteen-year-old youth in the velvet doublet and hose of a page in a nobleman's retinue, gaining at first hand an intimate knowledge of the ways of the aristocracy. Lastly, here is the young player, setting forth for London, leaving his sweetheart, Anne Hathaway, behind to wait for his return.

These years of Shakespeare's youth, like the early period of his acting and writing, may be called "lost years". Few known facts exist today. Biographies of ordinary folk were rare in the sixteenth century, and the first account of the poet's life was not written until nearly one hundred years after his death.

Miss Sisson is to be congratulated on the quality of the research which enabled her to assemble so many of the small, but important details of the work and play of a boy of Shakespeare's time. Much source material was surely available from her father, Professor Charles J. Sisson, the eminent Shakespearean specialist, and she lists in her bibliography the works of a number of other recognized authorities. From her wide reading she has constructed a dramatic and believable account of the dramatist's youth.

The lively incidents of this story have been well chosen for human interest, and for bringing to life the members of the family of young Will. Daily life at home; events at school; plays to which John Shakespeare took his fascinated young son; the meeting of the lad, playing his lute in his father's shop, with Sir Fulke Greville whose page he was to become—all these and many other

possible experiences are artfully woven into a story which holds the interest of the young reader throughout.

No one today can know whether such adventures actually came to William Shakespeare when he was a boy. But, as Miss Sisson says in her "Letter to the Reader", they well might have.

The environment which the author describes so vividly in this book is perhaps a more prosperous one than that sometimes attributed to William Shakespeare by his detractors. But his father, John Shakespeare, the glover, was an important man in the community. In his prosperous period he owned five different houses, three in Stratford, and two in the country. His several responsible civic offices included that of Chief Alderman. Two maids served in the comfortable Shakespeare home, according to this story, and the family even had silver spoons to eat with. Miss Sisson's description of the possible breadth of the youth's education and experience, and of the glamorous fashionable world with which he was familiar, confirm the fact that the William Shakespeare of Stratford was not necessarily the uncultured, unlettered person who, modern followers of the Earl of Oxford or Francis Bacon contend, could not have produced such works of genius.

For boys and girls of today, reading *The Young Shakespeare* should be a happy introduction to the study of his plays. This is a book which should have a place not only on their own bookshelves at home, but also on those of their school libraries.

The attractive illustrations by Denise Brown are in the spirit of the 16th century. It is a pity that there are not more of them.

Washington, D. C.

FRANCES CARPENTER

Shekspir na ukrayinskyi sseni. By I. VANINA. Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo obrazotvorchoho mystetstva i muzychnoyi literatury URSR, 1958. Pp. 103.

In the book under review, I. Vanina deals with the history of Shakespeare's plays on the Ukrainian stage; she discusses also translation of them into Ukrainian.

The interest in Shakespeare in Ukraina arose in the first half of the nineteenth century. Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), a great Ukrainian poet and artist, frequently spoke of the great English playwright with reverence, read his plays and even showed some influence of them in his own works (cf. my review of Jurij Bojko's *Taras Shevchenko and West European Literature in Comparative Literature*, 1958, IV).

The nineteenth century was extremely difficult for Ukrainian culture because the territory of the country was forcibly divided between Russia and Austria. To russify non-Russian nationalities, the Tsarist imperialistic government banned publication of books in the Ukrainian language. The ban was extended in 1876 to "various stage performances and readings in Ukrainian" (p. 22). Panas Myrny, a Ukrainian author who wrote his novels and stories in absolute secrecy, stated of these cruel measures: "translation into Ukrainian from foreign languages was strictly forbidden" (M. P. Pyvovarov, *Proza Panas Myrnoho 70-kh rokiv.* Kyiv, 1959, p. 224). No wonder that the Ukrainian version of *Hamlet* done by Mykhaylo Starytsky in 1872 passed, quite accidentally, through the Russian government censorship as late as 1882. By the way, this was the only Ukrainian translation of Shakespeare's works published in Eastern Ukraina under Russian domination prior to the Revolution of 1917, though there were many attempts to print renderings and adaptations of his other plays.

However, in Western Ukraine under the Austrian administration the conditions for Ukrainian culture were somewhat better. A fragment of *Hamlet* translated by Pavlyn Svetsytsky appeared in the magazine *Nyva* as early as 1865. Yuriy Fedkovych rendered into Ukrainian *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* in 1872-74 (printed in 1902). Pantaleymon Kulish published his rather free but good translations of *Othello*, *Troilus and Cressida* and *Comedy of Errors* in 1882. Moreover, Ivan Franko, a poet, writer and scholar often called the first Shakespeareologist of the country, participated in translating of Shakespeare's works and in editing of translations by other Ukrainian authors (cf. Orest Starchuk's study in the *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, II). It is worthwhile to mention that Ivan Franko organized in 1899 the Shakespeare Foundation under the auspices of which ten plays in Ukrainian translations were soon published. Ivan Franko also wrote forewords and commentaries to most of these books.

After Ukraine was finally united in a republic, though under the Soviet totalitarian regime, Shakespeare's works appeared in voluminous editions. Among the best contemporary translators are Maksym Rylsky (*King Lear*, *Twelfth Night*), Ivan Kocherha (*Taming of the Shrew*), I. Steshenko (*Othello*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Romeo and Juliet* and others), Borys Ten (*Richard III*), and Yuriy Koretsky (*Macbeth*).

I. Vanina has diligently gathered all accessible facts of the very first stagings of Shakespeare's plays in Ukraine. She discovered that *Hamlet* was staged by travelling actors, but in a Russian translation, as early as 1808 in the city of Kharkiv. The first staging in a Ukrainian translation occurred, in spite of the Russian government's ban, in 1873 in Kyiv; an amateurish group performed *Hamlet* in a private home several times. The play was in Mykhaylo Starytsky's translation with Mykola Lysenko's music to certain scenes.

Mykola Kropyvnytsky, a Ukrainian playwright and actor, tried many times to stage Shakespeare's plays but was constantly handicapped by the Russian governmental censorship. Full of despair, he died in 1910, and his Ukrainian adaptations of Shakespeare's works disappeared under suspicious circumstances.

I. Vanina is quite right that the first performance of *Othello* in Ukraine took place in 1923 in Lviv, but she is wrong in her statement that *Hamlet* saw the Ukrainian professional stage first in 1956 in the city of Kharkiv. For some reason, she overlooked the known fact that this play was staged in 1943-44 in the city of Lviv under the German occupation, and Volodymyr Blavatsky successfully played the leading role. The author of this review attended these performances quite often.

Analyzing the stagings of Shakespeare's plays, I. Vanina does a good and pioneering work in Ukrainian Shakespeareology. She compares the characters created by one theatre to those of others and often gives interesting conclusions. The unavoidable Soviet phraseology on Shakespeare and "Communist care of cultural heritage" is scattered throughout the book, fortunately, in small doses.

Though I. Vanina's book is incomplete and in some places synoptical, it is of considerable value as a first outline of the history of Shakespeare's plays on the Ukrainian stage. The great English playwright is much loved in Ukraine now; the theatres there frequently stage his deathless works, such as *Othello*, *Hamlet* and others, and there is never lack of audience.

The book has a dozen of illustrations representing various scenes and characters of Shakespeare's plays.

University of Alberta

YAR SLAVUTYCH

Songs and Dances for the Stuart Masque: An Edition of Sixty-three Items of Music for the English Court Masque from 1604 to 1641. Ed. by ANDREW J. SABOL. Brown University Press, 1959. Pp. xiii + 172. Paper covers.

During the past half century many studies have been made of Elizabethan and Jacobean music and its relationship to the literature of these periods. Few of the studies have treated the music of the masques, and these few have appeared as essays scattered in various journals or as fragmentary editions of the music. No scholarly survey of the masque music has been attempted. Now Sabol's edition provides a collection of music for the Jacobean masques both comprehensive in scope and edited with sound scholarship.

The edition includes an introductory essay on the masque—its structure, musical and literary characteristics, and development—with critical comments on the music and its composers. This is followed by a thorough bibliography and sixty-three pieces of music, thirty-eight vocal and twenty-five instrumental, transcribed into modern notation. Selections are from masques beginning with Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1603) and ending with D'Avenant's *The Triumph of the Prince D'Amour* (1636). With the exception of Lawes's music for Milton's *Mask of Comus*, all of the music was obtained from early 17th-century documents. The source of each item is noted. Most of the sources are familiar to students of the subject, and some of the music has been published elsewhere; but many items are edited and published by Sabol for the first time, particularly most of the instrumental music found in British Museum Add. MS. 10444 and the music written by composers other than Campion, Coperario, and Henry Lawes.

Those transcriptions which the reviewer checked against his microfilms were accurate. A few apparent errors in notation were found, most of them in the inner voices supplied by the editor. One might question Sabol's choice of the MS. 10444 setting the "First Witches Dance" in Jonson's *Masque of Queens*. There is another version, written in lute tablature, in Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (1610) which contains the inner parts missing from the MS and which is probably closer in time to the masque performance than the MS, an anonymous and undated document. But these are minor points; they do not detract from the value of the study or from its general trustworthiness. Many nice problems must be solved by an editor in transcribing early music into modern mensuration and notation. Sabol has solved these problems in a clear and consistent manner.

The edition suffers from the crudeness frequently apparent in copies made by an offset press. One hopes that Sabol's edition will be reprinted soon in better type and with the permanent binding that his work deserves.

Greensboro College

JOHN H. LONG

SHORT NOTICES

Le Tragedie di Shakespeare (RAI, Classe unica, No. 65). By GABRIELE BALDINI. [Roma]: Edizioni Radio Italiana, 1957. Pp. 198. Lire 350.

Intended as an introductory study of the subject for an Italian audience, Professor Baldini's compact volume consists of fourteen brief essays originally presented in a series of radio lectures and now revised for publication. The presentation is approximately chronological and attempts to explain simultaneously Shakespeare's evolving apprehension of the nature and requirements of the

tragic form and his ultimate mastery of the poetic language through which to present it. Three of the chapters (Chs. XI-XIII), appropriately, are devoted to *King Lear*. A supplementary chapter, "*Il peso della parola umana*", the first of three appendices, skilfully traces Shakespeare's growing control of his blank-verse medium and forms a fitting adjunct to the author's *John Webster e il linguaggio della tragedia*, a work inexplicably neglected in this country. A second appendix consists of illustrative prose translations from *Richard III* and *Macbeth* and serves to remind us that Baldini has also performed notably as a modern translator of Shakespeare.

Le tragedie di Shakespeare, by its very compression, achieves an almost classical directness. Wholly in sympathy with his material, Baldini writes persuasively—and with charm—out of a solidly informed mind. His work demands attention; and non-Italian specialists will neglect it to their own loss.

University of Tennessee

JOHN L. LIEVSAY

Prodigal Puritan: A Life of Delia Bacon. By VIVIAN C. HOPKINS. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. [xvi] + 362. \$6.75.

In academic circles the name of Delia Bacon is usually greeted only with a smile, of tolerance or derision. It may perhaps bring to mind the three articles accepted by *Putnam's Magazine*, only one of which was published because of the storm of protest at her argument that not the "son of a Stratford butcher" but Bacon *et al.* wrote the plays of Shakespeare. Perhaps also is remembered the assistance given her by Hawthorne, followed by the publication of *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded*, its failure to sell, and her increasing mental disturbance up to her death in 1859. It is something of a triumph that this biography, published in the anniversary year, should replace the unsympathetic cartoon with the portrait of a woman for whom one can feel sympathy and respect in spite of her aberration.

The biography is very carefully documented. It is also very judiciously written, with understanding of the personality problems involved, and an objective treatment of Miss Bacon's pathetic commitment to her theory of the authorship of the plays. It is clear the biographer is no Baconian, but she does not attempt at all to develop a criticism of the theory. The value of the book is two-fold: its striking account of Delia Bacon's background, self-education, success as a lecturer, and her strength of will and desire for literary fame; and, equally significant, the parallels, logical and psychological, between the "revelation" of the authorship to her and her "criticism" (*i.e.*, interpretation) of the plays and the thinking of the subsequent proponents of Bacon or other concealed "Shakespeares". Some later heretics have directly utilized her reasoning in support of their candidates. All show the same state of mind; all are unable to produce evidence, though some have attempted the excavations which she planned and finally flinched from.

Delia Bacon may now rest in peace in the New Haven churchyard; and this biography may well become the *locus classicus* for students of the state of mind of the non-Stratfordians.

Brown University

WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

The Poetry of Experience. By ROBERT LANGBAUM. New York: Random House, 1957. Pp. 246. \$4.50.

This book is mainly concerned, in the words of its subtitle, with "the dramatic monologue in modern literary tradition", a subject on which it has some

interesting and original things to say. For Shakespearians, however, the chief importance of the book lies in its chapter on "Character versus Action in Shakespeare", which first appeared as an article in *SQ*.

The scope of this chapter is somewhat more modest than its ambitious title would indicate. Dr. Langbaum makes the useful point that nineteenth-century criticism of Shakespeare is part of the nineteenth-century literary tradition, and is related, in its psychological emphasis, to the vogue of the dramatic monologue. He sees the distorted psychological interpretation of Shakespeare's soliloquies as one of the factors in the creation of the "monodramas" of Browning and others. The nineteenth century, Dr. Langbaum reminds us, found in Shakespeare a reflection of its own image. But then, of course, so does the twentieth century.

Dr. Langbaum has made a valuable contribution to the history of Shakespearian criticism. Like many another contemporary critic, however, he cannot resist the temptation to make fine-sounding generalizations about Shakespeare which don't quite fit the plays themselves. Thus we are told that "the combination of suffering and acquiescence was probably the secret of the old tragic emotion." One remembers the note of defiance that rings through Shakespearian tragedy from *Romeo and Juliet* to *Antony and Cleopatra*, and wonders. Perhaps the new didacticism is not, after all, the last word on Shakespeare.

Springfield, Massachusetts

SIDNEY THOMAS

Drama und Wirklichkeit in der Shakespearezeit. By ROBERT WEIMANN. Halle: Veb Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1958. Pp. 334.

This study by an east-German scholar is more impressive than might appear after reading its introduction. On the basis of a Marxist-oriented analysis of the social and political history of England under the Tudors and early Stuarts, it professes, contrary to F. P. Wilson (*Elizabethan and Jacobean*, p. 84), that it is possible to explain both the flowering and rapid decay of Elizabethan drama in terms of "historical causality". Such confidently optimistic assertions about man's capacities for analyzing literary history are nowadays seldom heard this side of the Iron Curtain. However, the book's approach is in practice both learned and cautious. No attempt is really made to explain the advent of Shakespeare. And a few silly generalizations apart (such as the one that capitalism is hostile to art, p. 313—like "democratic communism", capitalism sometimes is and sometimes is not), many of the book's contentions seem basically sound: that the political and religious compromise under Tudor absolutism favored a richness of modes of expression, a "fullness of possibilities of conflict which mark Shakespearian drama"; and that after 1600, the drama more and more reflects the growing split and narrowness in Stuart society, first through satire and parody, then in the form of plays written for audiences of a particular social stratum and with a correspondingly narrower taste (Weimann contrasts Fletcher and Heywood), finally in the complete degeneration of drama before the closing of the theatres. The fact that Theodore Spencer's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Man* is not included in the book's bibliography points up the narrowness of its thesis. Yet it supplements Spencer's in some important respects.

Victoria College, University of Toronto

F. D. HOENIGER

Richard the Third, 1597 (Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles No. 12). Edited by Sir WALTER GREG. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959. Pp. [x] + [58]. \$4.00.

W. W. Greg has given us another title in the Oxford series of Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles with his edition of the 1597 Quarto of *Richard III*. This is

the first facsimile reproduction of this play, made for general distribution, since the Griggs facsimile in 1886. Since that was made from the Devonshire copy of Q1 and this is from the Huth-British Museum copy, this volume puts in the scholar's hands another, probably superior printing of the play.

Having collated this copy with the Folger copy and the Devonshire (in the Griggs printing), I can concur with Dr. Greg in saying that the Huth seems to be in the best state of preservation of these extant copies of Q1 of *Richard III*. The Folger copy is mutilated on A4 and shows signs of poor inking and defective type. The Folger copy and the Yale fragment are superior in that they show line II. i. 5: "And now in peace my soule shall part from heauen," corrected to read "to heauen," the reading of the later quartos and the Folio. Since Dr. Greg is careful to print a facsimile of A3 recto from the Second Quarto (1598), why does he not also include a reproduction of D3 verso from the Folger First Quarto? Then he would have provided the textual scholar with all necessary materials for study.

The line numberings in the margin are helpful and correspond to those in the Globe edition of 1891 except at lines I.iii.200 and I.iv.170. But why does Dr. Greg perpetuate the old error in line numbering at I.ii.144, even though he calls attention to it in his introduction? The mistake throws off the numbering for the remainder of the scene, some one hundred and nineteen lines.

The introduction is useful and interesting, giving the reader the benefit of Dr. Greg's collation of facsimile texts of *Richard the Third*, 1597. The volume is a worthwhile contribution to textual scholarship in Shakespeare.

Emory and Henry College

R. H. GOLDSMITH

Shakespeare's Town and Country. By LEVI FOX. Norwich: Jarrold & Sons. [1959]. Pp. [48]. 12/6.

This book is a good introduction to the Shakespeare country, one of the loveliest parts of England. The text that prefaces and accompanies the forty-odd illustrations is simple and dignified and authoritative, as becomes the author, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and Director of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. The type is large, the printing good. And the page-size, about 9" x 11½", permits the use of color photographs large enough to do justice to the subjects. These are chosen with taste, ranging from gardens and interiors in Stratford to scenes at Warwick, Broadway, and Chipping Campden. The color photography is good, with mellow tones, but a less extensive use of soft focus would have lent variety.

Folger Shakespeare Library

J. G. M.

Shakespeare's Theater (Macmillan Paperbacks 26). By ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE. New York: Macmillan, 1960. Pp. [viii] + 472. \$2.45.

This book was one of the landmarks of scholarship when first published in 1916. In the ensuing decades, much that it presents has been unlearned and much more has been discovered. It remains an important work of reference, however, and its republication in paperback form is well advised. In established libraries, the original copies are often shabby from use; new libraries find the 1916 edition almost unprocureable. In some pages of the reprint, there is evidence of heavy wear in the type, and some of the plates are muddy or indistinct. It may be remarked, for the record, that the woodcut of Kirkman's *The Wits* reproduced on page 245 is actually that of the edition of 1662 rather than 1672, as stated in the legend.

Folger Shakespeare Library

J. G. M.

Queries and Notes

A THIRD EARLY NEWSPAPER ALLUSION TO SHAKESPEARE

JOSEPH FRANK

John Crouch, a minor ballad-writer of the seventeenth century, was, like many of his colleagues, a part-time journalist. In April 1649, shortly after the execution of Charles I and only seven-and-a-half years after the first weekly dealing with English news had appeared on the streets of London, he began to edit the pro-Royalist *The Man in the Moon*. Surprisingly, it survived more than a year, though with some interruptions, for it was filled with anti-Commonwealth invective, wild rumors, shouts of defiance, scurrility, and smut. In June 1650 Crouch, for whom the government had offered a reward of £50, was finally arrested. Sometime before April 1652 he was released, and in that month he began putting out a weekly entitled *Mercurius Democritus*. This was a consistently non-political and generally newsless paper, its eight pages crammed with dirty stories, gay verse, and burlesques of more legitimate journals. Crouch early announced that his purpose was to "create laughter", and he worked on the assumption that Cromwell would agree that the man who is merry "seldom hatcheth treason". Apparently Cromwell did agree, for Crouch's weekly collection of pornography and parody lasted, under various titles, until the autumn of 1655.

One of the more durable of these titles was *Mercurius Fumigosus, OR THE Smoking Nocturnall, COMMUNICATING Dark and hidden Newes, Out of all Obscure Places in the Antipodes*. . . Its fourteenth number, covering the week of August 30 to September 6, 1654, included one of the rare references to Shakespeare to appear in an Interregnum newspaper—in this case, a mention of Falstaff in the preface to a drinking song:

A merry Lad, one of the Sons of *Bacchus*, allyed to *Jack Falstaff* by the mothers side, the last Night sent this Song and *Catch* following; directed to his Brethren the Sons of *Apollo*.

But perhaps it is not strange that John Crouch, the most scurrilous of mid-seventeenth-century journalists, should recollect Shakespeare's most full-bodied comic character at a moment when organized Puritanism was at the crest of its power.

University of Rochester

"... SOME ENTERPRISE THAT HATH A STOMACH IN'T ..."

VLAS KOZHEVNIKOV

To attack some inveterate views is an undertaking which requires courage,

resolution, indeed. But it is just the thing I am going to do. "I will win if I can; if not, I will gain nothing but my shame."

Well then, is it admissible to say that mine is an enterprise that has a stomach in't? Though it is the title I have chosen for the present article according to the common understanding of the word "stomach" here, I don't think the question may be really answered in the affirmative.

From the Johnsonian age up to our time the word "stomach" in *Hamlet* (I. i. 100) is understood as "courage, resolution", but, in my opinion, it doesn't make sense here.

Let us cite the context. Horatio narrates to his friends that the young prince of Norway, Fortinbras, "hath . . . sharked up a list of lawless resolute . . . to some enterprise that hath a stomach in't; which is no other—as it doth well appear unto our state—but to recover of us . . . those foresaid lands so by his father lost."

To begin with, if we are informed that Fortinbras' enterprise requires listing "lawless resolute", it is perhaps superfluous to tell us that it has "a stomach (or resolution) in it."

Furthermore, the very turn of speech seems somewhat strange and dubious. Is it appropriate to say of an enterprise, which is only being planned, that it *has* a stomach (or resolution) *in it*? Of course, we should rather say that it *requires* resolution. The seemingly redundant *in't* is an additional stumbling block here.

But if we admit that the adjective-clause "which is no other", etc., is related with "a stomach" and not with "some enterprise", the meaning of the passage becomes clear, "each word made true and good". Fortinbras' proposed expedition is "some enterprise, that hath a stomach *in't*". The motif of secrecy is distinctly expressed in "*some*" and "*a*" (the latter being used emphatically for "some", "a certain"—see Abbot §§ 79, 81). What stomach is it? It "is no other—as it doth well appear unto our state—but to recover of us" such and such lands. So the true meaning of the word "stomach" is revealed by itself: it is something, which covers some secret intentions. The enterprise has a stomach *in it*, i.e. some *inner* receptacle of secret thoughts. Fortinbras carefully conceals the true purpose of his expedition, which is the revenge on Denmark. But Danish politicians have a clue to his secret.

We have the same motif of a carefully kept military secret reiterated in Act II, scene ii, where Voltimand reports that even to the king of Norway "his nephew's levies . . . appeared to be a preparation 'gainst the Polack".

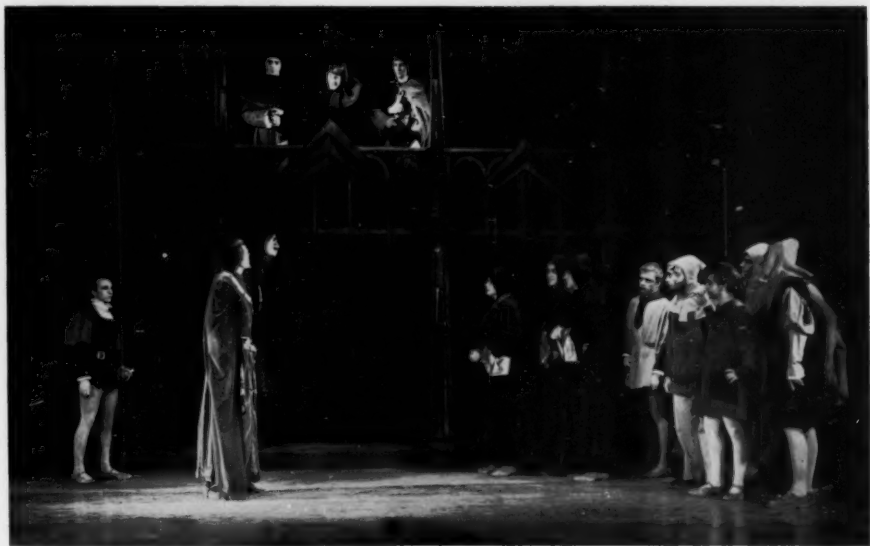
If we appeal to OED, it corroborates the exposed point of view. According to OED, the word "stomach" was formerly "used (like 'heart', 'bosom', 'breast') to designate the inward seat of passion, emotion, secret thoughts, affections, or feelings".

The present arguments were first published twenty years ago, in my article "New Translations of 'Hamlet' and the Problem of Translation" (the monthly *Literaturny Critic* (1939), No. 10-11). But since Russian magazines were then hardly available abroad, I think it proper to call Shakespeare-loving people's attention to these remarks.

Moscow



Twelfth Night, as presented at Wayne State University, with designs by Ross Smith, under the direction of Leonard Leone.



Richard III, presented at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, under the direction of Edward Brubaker, with the designs of Ed Flesh. Robert Heinold as Catesby; Gilbert Knier, Buckingham; E. Hollis Mentzer, a churchman; Roy R. Scheider, Richard; Roth Hafer, a churchman; John R. Schmidt, Lord Mayor; Peter Walker and Derek Stephenson, Aldermen.



Pericles, presented by Barnard College. Rhoda Horwin as Marina. Others in the picture: Dennis Flynn, Jane Higgins, Patricia McMahon, Jill Carpenter. Photo by Norman Kenneson.

Pericles, presented by Barnard College in its New York premiere. Barbara Wilken as Thaisa; Michael Vale as Simonides. Photo by Norman Kenneson.



Richard II, as produced at the University of Denver, staged by Edwin Levy. Richard was played by Terrance Brown.

Current Theatre Notes 1959-1960

ALICE GRIFFIN

THE decade from 1950 to 1960 was an important one for Shakespearean production in North America. Most significantly, it marked the founding and development of the two major summer professional Shakespeare festivals at Stratford, Connecticut, and Stratford, Ontario, Canada. A number of semi-professional festivals were started, and others, already established, continued to flourish. For the first time, there was a future for the young actor who, trained in classical acting in college, might have as his goal year-round employment with the American Shakespeare Festival, which tours its summer productions in the winter. Festivals like those at Ashland, Oregon, and San Diego, California, provided a stepping-stone and training ground for the college graduates. William Ball, an alumnus of San Diego, directed the impressive *Tempest* at Stratford, Connecticut, last summer. And summer seasons in Shakespeare provided a new dimension for the developing talents of young Broadway stars like Christopher Plummer, who first reached stardom at Stratford, Canada, and who will appear as guest artist at Stratford-upon-Avon in the summer of 1961.

Numerically, as reflected in this survey which has covered year by year most of the decade, productions have increased. Although this current survey is unavoidably less detailed than usual, the number of productions has been growing steadily, due in part to the summer festivals mentioned above, and also to activity in college theatres and in little theatres which had previously not ventured a Shakespearean presentation.

Great activity has been noted, too, during the past ten years in the presentation of Shakespeare plays by adult companies for the high school student. Some community theatres and many college theatres have adopted the long-established practice of the Cleveland Play House, in offering special performances of Shakespeare for high school students. In 1959 the American Shakespeare Festival inaugurated a three-week pre-season program of performances for students; in 1960 it was extended to five weeks, and the 57,000 tickets were sold out months in advance. In New York City in 1961, the New York Shakespeare Festival, whose rousing summer productions bring Shakespeare to life for a variegated and appreciative audience, will tour the city schools under the auspices of the Board of Education. The Stratford, Ontario, Festival also launched a high school program.

In the Broadway professional theatre, Shakespeare just about became extinct during the decade. There was an old-fashioned *As You Like It*, a stagnant *Romeo and Juliet*, and at the end of the period a delightful (imported) *Much Ado About Nothing*. But off Broadway, Shakespeare found a home, with some

notable productions by the Shakespearewrights and by the Phoenix Theatre, whose *Henry IV Parts 1 and 2* are reported in this survey.

Regarding production, the trend has been toward simplicity. Most of the fustian settings have disappeared in favor of an unlocalized setting, often incorporating such features of the Elizabethan stage as an upper acting area and a large apron which thrusts the action into the audience, as did the platform. This has eliminated "waits" for the changing of scenery and has permitted the scenes to flow freely into each other as they did originally.

The Stratford, Ontario, Festival has set high standards of professional acting, and its unit stage designed by Tanya Moiseiwitsch is the best modern Shakespearean stage this writer has seen. It provides the necessary intimacy between actor and audience, which surrounds the stage on three sides, and its approximation of the various levels of the Elizabethan stage lends variety to the movement. There is no scenery, but there is a great deal of pageantry, provided by the colorful costumes and the patterns of movement when a director like Tyrone Guthrie is at work there.

If there is a director to be singled out for the greatest contribution to Shakespearean staging in North America during the past decade, it is certainly Dr. Guthrie, who first set the Canadian Stratford Festival in motion, whose productions were as enlightening as they were entertaining, and who established a high standard of acting and production by which subsequent presentations may be measured.

Experiment has marked many productions; a favorite practice has been the setting of plays in periods other than the historical or traditional one. Not only have there been the usual modern-dress *Julius Caesars* and *Hamlets*, but *Henry V* was staged during the past year at the Mermaid Theatre in modern dress; the King came in from the cricket field to welcome the French envoys. A cowboy version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* went from a Texas college campus to England, and a *Much Ado About Nothing* set in the old Southwest appeared on the Stratford, Connecticut, stage. The most successful of these attempts was Tyrone Guthrie's *Troilus and Cressida*, performed by the Old Vic on their North American tour. It was set during World War I. Others have had varying success; all too often the director is so enamored of his own "gimmicks" that Shakespeare suffers. One can only deplore the "no dress" Shakespeare offerings, where the actors appear in sweaters and trousers or skirts, and generally the acting is as drab as the garb.

A recurrent criticism which runs through the reviews of the decade is that American actors do not or cannot bring out the poetry of the lines; their acting may soar but their speech is flat. Secondly, there appears to have been more than the usual stress on horseplay, hokum, gimmicks, etc., with the clowns doing much more "than is set down for them". It almost seems that these directors are afraid of letting Shakespeare stand on his own, but needs must make him palatable. As Walter Kerr remarked of the American Shakespeare Festival *Twelfth Night* in his review in the *New York Herald Tribune*, "I had the eerie feeling that director Jack Landau had made a very careful study of Shakespeare's play in order to see what else he might do. He has done almost everything else."

If there is to be named an outstanding Shakespeare star in this country during the decade, it must certainly be Sir John Gielgud, whose *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Ages of Man* gave American audiences a view of greatness in Shakespearian acting. During this time in England, Sir John created a brilliant gallery of lesser roles (having played all the major ones), such as Angelo, Cassius, and Leontes, and revived his impressive Lear.

Many more of the usually less popular plays received productions during the decade. There was a notable history cycle at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1951, starring Michael Redgrave and Richard Burton, while the infrequently seen *King John* was staged at both the American Stratfords. *Measure for Measure* enjoyed a vogue, as did *The Winter's Tale*. The Old Vic completed a presentation of the entire canon over a five-year period. And one of the most popular productions at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre turned out to be the *Titus Andronicus* which starred Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh in 1952 and later toured. In the United States, both the Antioch and the Oregon Shakespeare Festivals completed the canon.

As reflected in the current survey, the wide choice of plays continues. A number of groups have staged both parts of *Henry IV*; the Stan Hywet Festival in Akron, Ohio, offered the history cycle. *Pericles* was seen at Barnard College, and the Cleveland Play House staged *A Comedy of Errors*. Interest in placing the plays in other periods than their own has been observed during the past year; *Twelfth Night* at Stratford, Connecticut, was in Regency period. Touring by college theatres within their own states continued. The American Shakespeare Festival began an extensive tour in the fall of 1960. The Old Vic's second company, headed by Paul Rogers, toured England and the Continent and opened in *Macbeth* on January 9 in Moscow.

In pointing out that the Current Theatre Notes are representative rather than comprehensive, we again request readers of the *Quarterly* to help expand this annual list by sending programs or notes on their own productions of Shakespeare or on those they may see, in the United States or abroad, during the season from October 1, 1960, to October 1, 1961. They should be sent to the *Quarterly* editor, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington 3, D.C.

The current compilation owes a great deal to those groups and individuals who sent us material, and we sincerely thank them. Our greatest thanks, for their encouragement as well as assistance, to Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, President of the Association, and Dr. James G. McManaway, editor of *Shakespeare Quarterly*. And our gratitude and appreciation to all our correspondents abroad and special correspondents in this country, who have aided us to gather information on productions, including: Prof. Georges Bonnard, University of Lausanne; the editors of *Théâtre en Hongrie*, published by the Institut des Sciences du Théâtre, Budapest, Hungary; Mme. Maurice Garreau-Dombasle, Paris; Mr. Bohdan Korzeniewski, President of the Polish Center of the International Theatre Institute, Warsaw, and the editors of *Le Théâtre en Pologne*; Mr. P. Markov, Theatre Section, Soviet Society for Cultural Relations, Moscow; Mrs. William Mayleas of the National Theatre Section, American National Theatre and Academy; Prof. H. J. Oliver, University of New South Wales, Kensington, Australia; Prof. Jiro Ozu, Tokyo City University, Tokyo, Japan; Prof. Kristian

Smidt, University of Oslo; Mr. Ivan Vornovitch Schidlof of New York City, and Mr. Victor H. Woods, City Librarian, Shakespeare Memorial Library, Birmingham, England.

Hunter College.

Shakespearean Productions, October 1, 1959-October 1, 1960

Antony and Cleopatra

Opened February 27. Theatre St. Wyspiański, Śląski, Poland. Directed by J. Krasowski, designed by W. Lange, translated by R. Brandstaetter.

Opened July 3. Olney Theatre, Olney, Maryland.

Summer. University of Detroit, Tent Theatre, Detroit, Michigan.

Opened July 22, thereafter in repertory. American Shakespeare Festival Theatre, Stratford, Connecticut. Directed by Jack Landau, designed by Rouben Ter-Arutunian. Katharine Hepburn as Cleopatra, Robert Ryan as Antony. "Nowhere is there the flight of poetry. . . . All is enunciated, all is clear, and, oh, so very flat. The fault is in our stars—or their director. Miss Hepburn's Cleopatra . . . is part bad-tempered tomboy, part road-company Lilith, and repetitiously so. . . . Mr. Ryan's Roman clumps about in what seems to be a perpetual hangover, more stumblebum than fallen hero." Judith Crist, *New York Herald Tribune*, August 1, 1960.

Opened July 31, thereafter in repertory. Colorado Shakespeare Festival. Boulder, Colorado. Directed by J. H. Crouch. Presented out of doors in the Mary Rippon Theatre.

1960. Theatre National, Budapest, Hungary.

1959-1960. Karl Marx Dramatic Theatre, Saratov, U.S.S.R.

As You Like It

October. Städtische Bühnen Dortmund, Dortmund, Germany.

February 10-20. New Theatre, Nashville, Tennessee.

Opened March 7. The Playhouse, Salisbury, England. Directed by Ian Mullins.

Opened March 23. The Queen's Revels of Columbia University, New York City. An arena production.

Opened April 9. Theatre Bałtycki J. Słowacki, Koszalin, Poland. Directed by J. Kulmowa, designed by K. Husarska, translated by B. Paszkowski.

May 27-29, June 1-3. Antioch College Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio. Directed by Meredith Dallas. Ellen Rosenberg as Rosalind.

Opened July 12. Eleventh Annual National Shakespeare Festival, Old Globe Theatre, San Diego, California. Directed by Allen Fletcher.

Opened July 30. Exeter University Dramatic Society, Exeter, England. Directed by Ewart Johnson.

The Comedy of Errors

January 29-31. Northwestern University Theatre, Evanston, Illinois.

February 5-7. The Cleveland Play House, Cleveland, Ohio. Directed by Kirk Willis. Special performances were given for high school students in the area. Also staged was a short version of the musical by Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart based on the play, *The Boys from Syracuse*.

Opened June 28. Bristol Old Vic, Theatre Royal, Bristol, England. Directed by John Hale.

July 16-August 30. The Bristol Old Vic production presented at the Festival at Baalbek, Lebanon.

1959-60. Dramatic Theatre, Kaluga, U.S.S.R.

1959-60. Kirov Dramatic Theatre, Astrakhan, U.S.S.R.

1959-60. Russian Dramatic Theatre of Lesa Ukrainka, Kiev, U.S.S.R.

Coriolanus

February 11-13. Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

Cymbeline

Opened March 8. The Marlowe Society, Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England.

1959-60. Komisarjevsky Dramatic Theatre, Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

Hamlet

December 7. University College, London, England. Directed by Roy Battersby.

February 1-15. Les Comédiens des Champs Elysées, Théâtre des Champs Elysées, Paris, France. Directed by Michel Oudin and Maurice Jacquemont, translated by Jacques Copeau and Suzanne Bing. Jean-Louis Trintignant as Hamlet, Gamil Ratib as Claudius, Madeleine Marion as Gertrude.

Opened March 7. Guildford Repertory Theatre, Guildford, England.

March-April. Fred Miller Theatre, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

May 12-14, 19-21, 26-28. University of Hawaii Theatre Group and Department of Drama Theatre, University of Hawaii, Honolulu. Directed by Earle Ernst, designed by Jack Vaughan. John Stalker as Hamlet, William Thielicke as Claudius, Charlotte Patterson as Gertrude.

Opened May 28. Theatre Nowy, Łódź, Poland. Directed by J. Warmiński, designed by J. Rachwański and I. Zaborowska, translated by B. Paszkowski.

May. British Youth Theatre, Théâtre des Nations, Paris.

May 29-June 12. Royal Dramatic Theatre, Stockholm, Sweden. Stockholm Festival of Music and Drama. Direction and set design by Alf Sjöberg. Ulf Palme as Hamlet, Inga Tidblad as Gertrude. "... unconsoling realism is the keynote in Alf Sjöberg's powerful and fluid staging. . . . The cue for the main setting conceived by Sjöberg—a vast, semi-circular grill, upstage, like an apse made of prison bars—was Hamlet's comment to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, 'Denmark's a prison.'" *The New York Times*, May 29, 1960.

Opened June 18. Theatre Bałtycki J. Słowacki, Koszalin, Poland. Directed by T. Aleksandrowicz, designed by Z. Wierchowski, translated by R. Brandstaetter.

July 10-August 24. Presented during Dubrovnik Festival, Yugoslavia.

Opened July 29. National Shakespeare Festival, Old Globe Theatre, San Diego, California. Directed by Allen Fletcher.

Opened August 25. Birmingham University Guild Theatre Group, Loft Theatre, Leamington, England. Directed by J. R. Brown.

1959-60. Dramatic Theatre, Vilnius, U.S.S.R.

1959-60. Lermontov Dramatic Theatre, Grozny, U.S.S.R.

1959-60. Regional Dramatic Theatre, Irkutsk, U.S.S.R.

1959-60. Rainis Artistic Theatre, Riga, U.S.S.R.

1959-60. Academic Theatre of Drama, Riga, U.S.S.R.

1960. Rustavelli Theatre, Tiflis, U.S.S.R.

Julius Caesar

November 19-21. Wilmington College Theatre, Wilmington, Ohio.

Opened November 20. Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by Ian Emmerson.

Opened December 11. The People's Theatre, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England. Directed by Tom Emerson.

March 1-6. Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. Directed by James Bost, designed by George Crepeau.

April 6-7. State University of New York, Alfred, New York.

Opened July 5, thereafter in repertory. National Shakespeare Festival, Old Globe Theatre, San Diego, California. Directed by William Ball.

July 26-September 3, in repertory. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Presented out of doors in a theatre modeled on the Fortune. No intermissions or scene breaks.

Opened August 11. Youth Theatre, Queen's Theatre, London, England. Directed by Michael Croft.

King Henry IV, Part One

Opened November 3. Library Theatre, Manchester, England. Directed by David Scase.

Opened February 16. Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, England. Directed by Bernard Hepton.

Opened March 2. Phoenix Theatre, New York City. Directed by Stuart Vaughan, scenery and costumes by Will Steven Armstrong, music and songs by David Amram. Fritz Weaver as King Henry, Edwin Sherin as Hal, Eric Berry as Falstaff. "[As Falstaff] Eric Berry is a lovable rogue. . . . As Hotspur, Mr. [Donald] Madden. . . can take all proper credit for playing . . . with a youthful dash and ecstasy that are not contrived but flow naturally out of his own high spirits and his spontaneity as an actor." Judith Crist, *New York Herald Tribune*, March 3, 1960.

Opened March 4. Theatre Ateneum, Varsovie, Poland. Directed by Al. Bardini, designed by W. Siciński, translated by K. I. Gałczyński.

Opened April 4. Theatre Royal, York, England. Directed by Donald Bodley.

Opened April 12. The Playhouse, Liverpool, England. Directed by Willard Stoker.

Opened May 2. Dundee Repertory Theatre, Dundee, Scotland. Directed by Raymond Westwell.

Opened July 5. Cambridge Drama Festival, Boston Arts Center, Boston, Massachusetts. Fritz Weaver as King Henry, Eric Berry as Falstaff.

Opened July 12. Stan Hywet Shakespeare Festival, Stan Hywet Hall, Akron, Ohio. Part of the cycle presented at the Festival, from *Richard II* to *Henry V*.

Opened July 30. Colorado Shakespeare Festival, Boulder. Out of doors at the Mary Rippon Theatre, especially designed for Shakespearian productions. Directed by Francis Hodge.

Opened August 3, thereafter in repertory. Champlain Shakespeare Festival, University of Vermont Arena Theatre, Burlington, Vermont. Robert Spanabel as King Henry, Tom Slater as Hal. Directed by Greg Falls.

King Henry IV, Part Two

Opened February 22. Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, England. Directed by Bernard Hepton.

Opened April 11. Theatre Royal, York, England. Directed by Donald Bodley.

Opened April 18. Phoenix Theatre, New York. Directed by Stuart Vaughan, sets and costumes by Will Steven Armstrong, music and songs by David Amram. Fritz Weaver as King Henry, Edwin Sherin as Prince Hal, Eric Berry as Falstaff. "In Part 2 what was good in the first is better, and what was less good has improved; and a whole new set of characters now appears in the best of spirits. . . . Falstaff has improved upon excellence. . . . Mr. Berry is more interested in the nature of the character than in the external rogueries." Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*, April 19, 1960.

Opened July 6. Cambridge Drama Festival. Boston Arts Center. Fritz Weaver as King Henry, Eric Berry as Falstaff.

Opened July 19. Stan Hywet Shakespeare Festival, Stan Hywet Hall, Akron, Ohio.

1959-60 Season. Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria. Directed by Leopold Lindtberg, sets by Teo Otto. Albin Skoda as Henry, Oskar Werner as Hal, Hermann Schomberg as Falstaff. The two parts were concentrated in one evening. The entire history cycle is scheduled for this theatre in the next two years.

King Henry V

Opened February 25. Mermaid Theatre, London, England. Directed by Julius Gellner. William Peacock as Henry. The actors wore modern battle dress, carried guns, and were led by the King with a revolver. Noises of dive-bombers were used, and newsreels of World War II were projected on a screen during the battle scenes.

March 31-April 9 in repertory. Phoenix Shakespeare Festival, Phoenix, Arizona. Directed by Robert Aden.

Opened May 31. Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by John Neville, sets by John Bury, costumes by Margaret Bury, music by John Lambert. Donald Houston as Henry, Walter Hudd as Charles VI, Joss Ackland as Pistol. "It sounds quite feasible to have a modern dress Chorus to conjure up on an empty stage the rest of the play. Yet the presence of this Chorus (with or without his raincoat) only served . . . to destroy the illusion of court and battlefield alike. . . . Donald Houston is an efficient actor. . . . The only trouble is that his range is a limited one . . . an unexciting actor." Peter Roberts, *Plays and Players* (London), July, 1960.

June 29-July 16. New York Shakespeare Festival, Central Park, New York. Directed by Joseph Papp, costumes and scenery by Eldon Elder, music by David Amram. "Mr. Papp moves his huge cast up and down and over the battlements in a series of excitingly fluid scenes. . . . This 'Henry V' is all dash and splendor and spectacle—just what Shakespeare ordered." Arthur Gelb, *The New York Times*, June 30, 1960.

Opened July 26. Stan Hywet Shakespeare Festival, Stan Hywet Hall, Akron, Ohio.

King John

Opened June 27, thereafter in repertory. Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Stratford, Ontario, Canada. Directed by Douglas Seale, scenery by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. Douglas Rain as King John, Christopher Plummer as the Bastard, Ann Casson as Constance. "Given an admirable acting company, Mr. Seale has animated the characters and raised them to the level of recognizable human beings." Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*, June 29, 1960.

King Lear

Opened February 27. Eton College, England. Directed by R. Prior and R. J. G. Payne.

1959-60. Lunacharsky Dramatic Theatre, Vladimir, U.S.S.R.

1959-60. Franko Ukrainian Dramatic Theatre, Kiev, U.S.S.R.

1959-60. Hamza Regional Dramatic Theatre, Namangan, U.S.S.R.

1960. Russian Dramatic Theatre, Mukachev, U.S.S.R.

1960. Dramatic Theatre of the Russian Republic, Czeboksary, U.S.S.R.

King Richard II

November 17, thereafter in repertory. Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by Val May, costumes and decor by Richard Negri. John Justin as Richard, Robert Harris as Gaunt, George Baker as Bolinbroke. ". . . Richard Negri's all essentially medieval sets and costumes. . . . Grouping that is reminiscent of medieval painting further underlines the period, so that one is even more astonished that the verse itself should be bellowed with so little feeling for period and style. . . . Had Richard as little sensibility as Mr. Justin allows him, and were he so little prone to self-dramatisation and self-pity, Bolinbroke would never have occupied his throne." Peter Roberts, *Plays and Players* (London), January, 1960.

January 28-30, February 4-6. University of Denver Theatre, Denver, Colorado.

Spring. University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

April 21-23. Stanford Players, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

Opened July 5. Stan Hywet Shakespeare Festival, Stan Hywet Hall, Akron, Ohio.
 July 28-September 3, in repertory. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon.
 August. Independent Theatre, Sydney, Australia.

King Richard III

March 3-12. Green Room Club, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Directed by Edward Brubaker, designed by Ed Flesh. Roy R. Scheider as Richard, Charles Parsons as Clarence, Gilbert Knier as Buckingham. The stage featured a "tiring house" with second story level, and the auditorium was used for entrances and exits by a staircase built into an apron extending the stage. The production stressed the curse of Margaret as the principal organizing device.

Love's Labour's Lost

October 1960. The National Institute of Dramatic Art, Sydney, Australia.

Macbeth

Opened November 9. Theatre Royal, Lincoln, England. Directed by K. V. Moore.

February 25-March 5. Ring Theatre, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida.

March 3. Theatre St. Zeromski, Kielce, Poland. Directed by H. Gryglaszewska, designed by K. Paszkiewicz, translated by K. Berwińska.

July 27-August 2. Camden Shakespeare Theatre, Camden, Maine.

Opened August 2, thereafter in repertory. Champlain Shakespeare Festival, University of Vermont Arena Theatre, Burlington, Vermont. The second annual festival. Arthur Lewis as Macbeth, Patricia Hamilton as Lady Macbeth.

August 14. Hovenden Players, Hovenden Theatre Club, London, England. Directed by Valery Hovenden.

September 19-24. International Theatre Festival, Olympia Theatre, Dublin, Ireland.

September 26. Tour of Old Vic Theatre (London) opens at Royal Court, Liverpool, England. Paul Rogers as Macbeth, Barbara Jefford as Lady Macbeth. Directed by Michael Benthall, designed by Michael Annals, music by Tristram Cary.

Measure for Measure

Opened February 2. Oxford University Dramatic Society, Playhouse, Oxford, England. Directed by Kenneth Loach and Merlin Thomas. Mr. Loach as Angelo, Elizabeth Gordon as Isabella.

April 5-9. Wisconsin Players, Wisconsin Union Theatre, Madison, Wisconsin.

July 25-August 10. New York Shakespeare Festival, Central Park, New York City, New York. Directed by Alan Schneider, setting by Eldon Elder, music by David Amram. Philip Bosco as Angelo, Mariette Hartley as Isabella. "Mr. Bosco's Angelo is more than a man corrupted by power . . . he is a man who suffers torment in self-knowledge and in his refusal to concede his weakness." Judith Crist, *New York Herald Tribune*, July 26, 1960.

1959-60. Theatre del Caballito, Mexico.

1959-60. Dramatic Theatre, Tula, U.S.S.R.

The Merchant of Venice

Opened October 13. The Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury, England. Directed by Donald Bain.

October 30-November 16. The Goodman Theatre, Chicago, Illinois. Directed by Charles McGaw, designed by Jim Maronek. Guest stars were Morris Carnovsky as Shylock and Mariette Hartley as Portia, both of the American Shakespeare Festival Company, Stratford.

Opened December 2. Fylde College Theatre, Tower Circus, Blackpool, England. Directed by Frank Winfield.

Opened February 1. S.T.G. Productions, Assembly Hall, Tunbridge Wells, England. Directed by Paxton Whitehead and Barbara Sykes.

Opened February 8. Oldham Repertory Theatre Club, The Coliseum, Oldham, England.

Opened February 9. Library Theatre, Manchester, England. Directed by David Scase.

February 22. Renaissance Theatre Company, Her Majesty's Theatre, Barrow-in-Furness, England.

Opened February 29. Ipswich Theatre, Ipswich, England. Geoffrey Edwards directed.

Opened March 28. Civic Playhouse, Bradford, England. Millicent Isherwood, director.

Opened April 12. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Michael Langham, setting and costumes by Desmond Heeley, music by Cedric Thorpe Davie. Peter O'Toole as Shylock, Dorothy Tutin as Portia. Set in the Georgian period. "Peter O'Toole's Jew was decidedly tragic. . . a comparatively young man, tall and upright. . . delivered the well-worn lines with remarkable freshness often choosing *mezza voce* where so many of his predecessors have pulled the stops right out." Peter Roberts, *Plays and Players* (London), May, 1960.

May 9. Queen's Theatre, Hornchurch, England. Directed by Anthony Richardson.

Opened May 9. Richmond Theatre, Richmond, England. Directed by Alexander Dore, decor by John Piper. Michael Atkinson as Shylock, Sheila Allen as Portia. "This Shylock had all the resplendent gravity of one of Rembrandt's rich Jewish merchants, and an immense natural dignity which seemed to come from an inborn aristocratic sense possessed by this gifted young actor." David Hunt, *Plays and Players* (London), June, 1960.

1960. Ostrovsky Theatre, Lugansk, U.S.S.R.

The Merry Wives of Windsor

Opened December 22. Old Vic Theatre, London. Directed by John Hale. Maggie Smith as Mistress Ford, Moyra Fraser as Mistress Page, Joss Ackland as Falstaff.

June. Festival de Blois, France, Jean Deninx Theatre Company. Directed by Jean Deninx, designed by Jacques Baud, music by Guy Delamoriniere, Robert Vidalin as Falstaff, Josseline Gail as Mistress Ford, Renée Byr as Mistress Page.

August 5-7. Richmond Virginia Festival of Arts, The Shakespeare Players.

August 24-September 10. The Little Theatre of Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia. Presented at Gadsby's Tavern, directed by Orville French. The program, in the style of an eighteenth-century playbill, listed Mr. Jones as Falstaff, Mrs. Sheedy as Mistress Page and Miss Chamberlain as Mistress Ford.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

Opened October 13. Nottingham Repertory Theatre, Nottingham, England. Directed by Val May.

Opened March 11. Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England.

May 6-7. East Carolina College, Greenville, North Carolina.

May 28-June 26. During this period, the dates of the Vienna Festival, presented at the Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria.

June 3. Harrow School, England. Directed by Ronald Watkins.

June 8. Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts, Hurley Manor, Surrey, England. Directed by Ellen Pollock.

June 12. Aldenburg Festival, Aldenburg, England. Premiere of opera by Benjamin Britten. Performed by the English Opera Group, with Jennifer Vyvyan as Titania, Owen Brannigan as Bottom, Leonide Massine 2d as Puck. ". . . A captivating blend of Shakespeare's moonlit lyricism and a modern composer's delicate songfulness." Howard Taubman, *The New York Times*, June 13, 1960.

June 24-25. Kennet Square, Longwood Gardens, Pennsylvania.

Opened June 28. Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Ontario, Canada. Directed by Douglas Campbell, costumes by Brian Jackson. Kate Reid as Helena, Leo Ciceri as Lysander, Tony Van Bridge as Bottom. "Sometimes it looks more like a track meet than a shimmering fairy story. . . . The general performance is diffuse and busy. There seem to be more exits than entrances. Everyone is in a hysteria of motion." Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*, June 30, 1960.

September 27. The American Shakespeare Festival, with headquarters at Stratford, Connecticut, opened its cross-country tour at the Colonial Theatre, Boston. Jack Landau directed, Bert Lahr as Bottom, Richard Waring as Oberon, Margaret Phillips as Titania.

1959-1960 Season. Théâtre National Populaire, Paris, France. Directed by Jean Vilar. Maria Casarès as Titania, Mr. Vilar as Oberon.

1960. Theatre National, Budapest, Hungary.

Much Ado About Nothing

December 8-27. Margo Jones Theatre '59, Dallas, Texas.

Opened February 3. The Playhouse, Nottingham, England. Directed by Val May. Rhoda Lewis as Beatrice, Robert Lang as Benedick.

February 27-March 26. Pittsburgh Playhouse, Craft Theatre, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Opened March 4. Theatre Dolnośląski, Jelenia Góra, Poland. Directed by B. Orlicz, designed by A. Szeliga, translated by K. I. Gałczyński.

March 10-12. Mary Washington College, University of Virginia, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Opened May 11. Castle Theatre, Farnham, England. Directed by George Harland.

1960. Theatre National, Budapest, Hungary.

1959-60. Kachalov Dramatic Theatre, Kazan, U.S.S.R.

Othello

Opened November 23. Guildford Repertory Theatre, Guildford, England. Directed by Eric Jones.

April 27-May 1. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Opened June 4. Theatre Dramatyczny, Częstochowa, Poland. Directed by I. Czykowska, designed by J. Pożakowska, translated by K. Berwińska.

Opened October 20. Citizen's Theatre, Glasgow, Scotland. Directed by Peter Duguid.

1959-60 season. Tokyo, Japan, Sankei Hall. Produced by Fumiko Yoshida. Directed by Tsuneari Fukuda. Koshiro Matsumoto as Othello, Masayuki Mori as Iago. Of Iago, the *Japan Times* said he was played as a "flippant clown, mincing, gesticulating, jigging, tweaking and twirling, playing up for laughs so much that he never managed to show the callous materialism of Iago's credo or the jealousy that poisons his system." Of Othello, "his rages were too controlled to overwhelm his fellow characters and his audience."

1959-60. Azerbaijani Dramatic Theatre, Baku, U.S.S.R.

1959-60. Tchavchavadze Dramatic Theatre, Batumi, U.S.S.R.

1960. Ordzonikidze Dramatic Theatre, Stalinsk, U.S.S.R.

Pericles

April 5-9. Barnard College, New York, New York. Directed by Michael Kahn, designed by Ed Wittstein. Jack Adams as Pericles, Rhoda Horwin as Marina.

May. Theatre A. Fredo, Gniezno, Poland. Directed by E. Aniszenko, designed by J. Kaliszan, translated by L. Ulrich.

Romeo and Juliet

Opened October 25. Theatre de St. Jaracz, Olsztyn, Poland. T. Zuchniewski, director; M. Stańczak, designer; J. Iwaszkiewicz, translator.

Opened January 1. Theatre Ziemi Pomorskiej, Bydgoszcz-Torun, Poland. Directed by T. Kozłowski, designed by S. Bałowski, translated by Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz.

Opened January 19. Theatre Dramatyczny, Szczecin, Poland. Directed by A. Kwiatkowski, designed by M. Stańczak, translated by J. Iwaszkiewicz.

March 31-April 9. The Phoenix Shakespeare Festival, Alfred Knight Shakespearean Section, Phoenix Little Theatre, Phoenix, Arizona. Directed by John W. Paul.

April 14-16, 19-24. The University of Minnesota Theatre, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

June 17-July 11. At the Lyons-Fourviere Festival during these dates, presented by the Jean-Louis Barrault Company.

Opened June 29. Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Ontario, Canada. Directed by Michael Langham. Julie Harris as Juliet, Bruno Gerussi as Romeo, Christopher Plummer as Mercutio. "... Juliet is fragile and infinitely touching. Although the scale is diminutive, the workmanship is dainty. . . . Her Juliet is a defenseless child who lives in an aura of stillness, her raptures shy, her anguish poignant. . . . The Romeo of Bruno Gerussi is young and defenseless. . . . Christopher Plummer's swaggering, witty Mercutio is an exciting person, gallantly humorous. . . ." Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*, July 1, 1960.

July 16-August 30. During the Festival at Baalbek, Lebanon, presented by the Bristol Old Vic.

August 19-20. Perry Mansfield School of Theatre and Dance, Steamboat Springs, Colorado.

Opened October 4. Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed and designed by Franco Zeffirelli, costumes by Peter Hall, music by Nino Rota. Judi Dench as Juliet, John Stride as Romeo, Peggy Mount as the Nurse.

1959-60. Dramatic Theatre, Komsomolsk on Amur, U.S.S.R.

1960. Theatre of Lenin's Komsomol, Sverdlovsk, U.S.S.R.

1960. Gorky Dramatic Theatre, Simferopol, U.S.S.R.

The Taming of the Shrew

Opened January 29. Theatre de Al. Wegierko, Bialystok, Poland. Directed by Z. B. Sawan, designed by A. Sadowski, translated by J. Paszkowski.

Opened April 26. The Playhouse, Oxford. Directed by Frank Hauser. Sian Phillips as Katharine, Brewster Mason as Petruchio.

Opened May 7. Pitlochry Festival, Perthshire, Scotland. David Garrick's *Katharine and Petruchio*, based on *The Taming of the Shrew*. Directed by James Roose Evans.

May 9-11. Florence State College, Florence, Alabama.

May 11-14. Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan.

May. Penthouse Theatre, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington. An arena production.

Open June 21, thereafter in repertory. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by John Barton. Peggy Ashcroft as Katharine. "... Over and above the rough-and-tumble stuff, she contrived to give the shrew a depth of character that is unusual. She managed to suggest a woman of high spirit who had found it so easy to dominate those about her all her life that she had become a termagant, much as a drug taker becomes an addict. At the bottom of her heart she wanted nothing better than to be mastered in her turn, and her final surrender to Petruchio had about it, therefore, a sense of profound relief. . . ." W. A. Darlington, *The New York Times*, June 22, 1960.

July 4-23. Bermuda Festival Theatre, Bermuda. Directed by Constance Bainbridge, setting by D. Roberts.

July 25-September 3, in repertory. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon.

Opened August 1, thereafter in repertory. Champlain Shakespeare Festival, University of Vermont Arena Theatre, Burlington, Vermont. Jane Hall as Katharine, Ronald Satlof as Petruchio.

August 18-September 3. The New York Shakespeare Festival, New York City. Directed by Gerald Freedman, designed by Eldon Elder, music by David Amram. Jane White as Katharine, J. D. Cannon as Petruchio. "Rowdy, bawdy and convulsively funny. . . . J. D. Cannon is the perfect Petruchio—virile and arrogant, with precisely the right tone of brutality and romantic

dash. Mr. Cannon's speaking voice is crisp and resonant. . . . Jane White comes close to the ideal too—a handsome and passionate virago, who can match her man in fury, but with the requisite womanliness emerging warmly at the end." Arthur Gelb, *The New York Times*, August 19, 1960.

August 28-September 3. The Majestic Showboat presented the play at Louisville, Kentucky, during its showboat tour of the Mississippi during the summer.

1960. Lunacharsky Dramatic Theatre, Vladimir, U.S.S.R.

The Tempest

Opened December 27. East 74th Street Theatre, New York City, New York. Directed by Rolf Forsberg, setting by Andrew Johns and Robert Carnell. Edward Asner as Prospero, Monica May as Miranda, Barbara Berjer as Ariel. "Better companies than Mr. Forsberg's have not been able to capture the music of the verse. But not many have made 'The Tempest' seem so witless and heavy." Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*, December 28, 1959.

Opened January 17. Theatre Powszechny, Varsovie, Poland. Directed by K. Skuszanka, designed by J. Szajna, translated by Z. Siwicka and L. Ulrich.

February 17-20. University of Georgia. Presented for delegates to the Second National Thespian Conference of high school students.

March 15-19. The University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

March 31-April 9. Phoenix Shakespeare Festival, Phoenix, Arizona, directed by Peter Marroney.

June 2. Bankside Players, Open-Air Theatre, Regent's Park, London, England. Directed by Robert Atkins. Alan Judd as Prospero, Michael Picardie as Ariel, Mr. Atkins as Caliban.

Opened June 14. American Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Connecticut. Directed by William Ball, designed by Robert Fletcher. Morris Carnovsky as Prospero, Earle Hyman as Caliban. An enchanting production, with Mr. Carnovsky effective as a well-spoken, philosophic Prospero. The masque was an impressive spectacle, with costumes based on seventeenth-century designs.

July 27-September 3 in repertory. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon.

Troilus and Cressida

Opened July 26, thereafter in repertory. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Peter Hall and John Barton. Dorothy Tutin as Cressida, Denholm Elliott as Troilus, Max Adrian as Pandarus.

Twelfth Night

Opened November 16. Theatre in the Round, Pembroke Theatre, Croydon, England. Robert Atkins, director.

Opened January 1. The Playhouse, Sheffield, England. Directed by Geoffrey Ost. Joanna Craig as Viola, Geraldine Gwyther as Olivia.

February 18-20. Stetson University, Deland, Florida.

Opened March 15. Marlowe Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by Kenneth Parrott.

Opened March 15. Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys, California.

March. Nottingham Playhouse Children's Theatre, Nottingham, England. Directed by R. D. Macdonald.

April 1, 2, 8, 9. El Camino College, El Camino, California.

April 17-19. Brooks School, North Andover, Massachusetts. Directed by Ralph Symonds. Pat Reppert as Viola, Arthur Randall as Malvolio. On April 7 a special performance was given for Professor Nevil Coghill of England.

May 6-7, 12-14. Wayne State University Theatre, Detroit, Michigan. Directed by Leonard Leone; designed by Ross Smith.

Opened May 17. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Peter Hall, scenery and costumes by Lila de Nobili, music by Raymond Leppard. Dorothy Tutin

as Viola, Derek Godfrey as Malvolio, Max Adrian as Feste. "... If *Twelfth Night* were nothing but a poem how acceptable would we find this revival of the 1958 production ... though the garlands and the birds are there, we see them in the dim light that is shaded from the psychiatrist's couch. On it lies Feste. And what Mr. Hall has shown us may be the sweet and bitter memories of Feste's ailing world which once was young." Caryl Brahms, *Plays and Players* (London), July, 1960.

Opened June 1. Theatre Narodowy, Varsovie, Poland. Directed by J. Wyszomirski, designed by A. Dadowski, translated by L. Ulrich and A. Skonimski.

Opened June 3. American Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Connecticut. Directed by Jack Landau, designed by Rouben Ter-Arutunian, music by Herman Chessid. Katharine Hepburn as Viola, Margaret Phillips as Olivia, Richard Waring as Malvolio. Set in the Regency period. "The whole imaginative swoop is meant to suggest a British watering-place in approximately the year the S.S. Pinafore was launched. ... Though every word is letter-perfect ... the words do not come out lively characters and the clarity is achieved by a slow and deliberate enunciation. ... it is hard to remember that there are people, delightful people, behind the care-free nonsense of Shakespeare's plot and the calculated nonsense of the present production." Walter Kerr, *New York Herald Tribune*, June 9, 1960.

June. Sydney University Players, Sydney, Australia.

Opened June 18. Ziemi Lubuskiej, Zielona Góra, Poland. Directed by M. Straszewska, designed by Z. Bednarowicz, translated by L. Ulrich.

July. Conservatorium of Music, Sydney, Australia. Directed by John Alden.

Opened August 1, thereafter in repertory. Colorado Shakespeare Festival, Boulder, Colorado. Mary Rippon Theatre, an outdoor theatre especially designed for Shakespearean productions. Directed by Gerald Kahan.

August 17-20. Eagles Mere Playhouse, Eagles Mere, Pennsylvania.

Opened September 27. Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by Waris Habibullah.

1960. National Theatre, Budapest, Hungary. Mari Torocsik as both Viola and Sebastian.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona

Opened April 5. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Peter Hall, costumes by Lila de Nobili, settings by Renzo Mongiardino, music by Raymond Leppard. "My admiration for the courage of Mr. Hall is unabated. Has he not the courage to let funny lines be funny of themselves ... to bring his play right down into the auditorium upon an apron stage? Just as he has the courage ... to set his revolving stage spinning and send his cast sprinting from the no-longer stationary scene. He plays, in short, an old play up; but there is no glimpse of magic, no line or sudden word of poetry that this producer misses. ... But I must not hide it that in my opinion his casting can be wilful to the point of lunacy." Caryl Brahms, *Plays and Players* (London), May, 1960.

Opened July 25. Theatre Klasyczny, Warsaw, Poland. Directed by T. Cygler, designed by J. Szeski, translated by L. Ulrich and J. Paszkowski.

The Winter's Tale

February 9-13. The University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

April 25-30. University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

July 22. Stowe School, England. Directed by W. L. McElwe.

Opened August 30. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Peter Hall. Peggy Ashcroft as Hermione, Harry Andrews as Leontes.

1959-60 Season. Dramatic Theatre, Kaluga, U.S.S.R.

Notes and Comments

FRONTISPIECE AND ILLUSTRATIONS

In April, 1603, immediately after James VI of Scotland was proclaimed king of England, the authorities of the City of London began to erect seven magnificent arches, designed and built by Stephen Harrison, at strategic points along the route of the King's expected passage through the City. A violent outbreak of the plague caused James to have a quiet coronation at Westminster and to postpone the progress through London until 15 March 1604. Harrison's book, with William Kip's engravings of the arches, came from press at some time after 16 June 1604. The Frontispiece of Winter *SQ* shows the first of the arches, that in Fenchurch Street. Harrison's words about the transitoriness of such things are worth quoting.

For albeit these Monuments of your *Loues* were erected vp to the Cloudes, and were built neuer so strongly, yet now their lastinges should liue but in the tongues and memories of men: But that the hand of Arte giues them here a second more perfect beeing, aduaunceth them higher then they were before, and warrants them that they shall doe honour to this Citie, so long as the Citie shall beare a name.

The symbolism of the arches, and of the figures that adorn them, is explained in the text that accompanies the engraved plates.

The illustration on page 56 is a reproduction of the title-page of the only complete copy of the third edition *Jack Jugler* (c. 1565-1570). The woodcut, as Greg has pointed out, illustrates the story of the Prodigal Son and has nothing to do with the play, despite the stage and the musicians in the background.



SHAKESPEARE FILM FESTIVAL IN BRAZIL

In June and July, 1960, Rio de Janeiro had the opportunity to see eight films of Shakespearian plays or adaptations, some in black-and-white, others in full color. The Festival Cinematográfico Shakespeareano, arranged by Dr. João Ribeiro dos Santos, was held under the auspices of the Boy Scouts of Brazil, with the cooperation of the British Embassy, the British Council, and Teatro da Maison de France. A lecture or introductory statement by a local man of letters or professor from one of the neighboring universities preceded most of the films. The first picture was *Hamlet* (Laurence Olivier) on 1 June; *Henry V* (Olivier) followed on 8 June. Then came *Othello* (?Orson Welles) on 15 June, *Romeo and Juliet* (M.G.M., with Leslie Howard and Norma Shearer) on 22 June, *Richard III* (Olivier) on 29 June, *Kiss Me, Kate* (M.G.M., Howard Keel and Kathryn Grayson) on 6 July, *Macbeth* (?Welles) on 13 July, and *Julius Caesar* (M.G.M., with John Gielgud, Marlon Brando, Louis Calhoun, and James Mason) on 20 July. The audiences in Teatro da Maison de France were so enthusiastic in their enjoyment of the films that Cultura Inglesa do Brasil and the Universidade do Brasil are collaborating in the foundation of a Sociedade Brasileira de Shakespeare.

Contributors

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FRANCES CARPENTER (Mrs. W. Chapin Huntington), F.R.G.S., is author of many children's books and of *The Pacific: Its Lands and Peoples*.

HUGH DICKINSON, Associate Professor of Speech and Drama, Loyola University, Chicago, is also Director of Loyola's Curtain Guild that recently produced *Henry IV*.

Dr. R. E. FLEISSNER is Instructor in English at Ohio State University.

PROFESSOR JOSEPH FRANK, of the University of Rochester, has in press a book about the beginnings of the English newspaper.

R. H. GOLDSMITH, Associate Professor of English at Emory and Henry University, is the author of *Shakespeare's Wise Fools*, recently reprinted in England by the Liverpool University Press.

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PROFESSOR WILLIAM T. HASTINGS, Professor Emeritus of Brown University and sometime President of Phi Beta Kappa, is Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Shakespeare Association of America.

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VLAS KOZHEVNIKOV, a practising lawyer in Moscow, is author of articles about Maxim Gorky and about Shakespeare. He has in preparation a book dealing with Shakespearian tragedy.

Professor J. L. LIEVSAY, of the University of Tennessee, is an expert on literary relations between England and Italy in the Renaissance.

Professor JOHN H. LONG, of Greensboro College, North Carolina, is author of *Shakespeare's Use of Music*.

Professor GEORGE R. PRICE, of Michigan State University, has in preparation an edition of the plays of Thomas Middleton.

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Notes and Comments

INTRODUCTION

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject. It begins with a discussion of the early attempts to explain the origin of life, and then proceeds to a consideration of the more recent theories. The author then discusses the various methods used to study the origin of life, and finally, he presents his own conclusions. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the various theories of the origin of life. It begins with a discussion of the theory of spontaneous generation, and then proceeds to a consideration of the theory of biogenesis. The author then discusses the various methods used to study the origin of life, and finally, he presents his own conclusions.

The third part of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the various theories of the origin of life. It begins with a discussion of the theory of spontaneous generation, and then proceeds to a consideration of the theory of biogenesis. The author then discusses the various methods used to study the origin of life, and finally, he presents his own conclusions. The fourth part of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the various theories of the origin of life. It begins with a discussion of the theory of spontaneous generation, and then proceeds to a consideration of the theory of biogenesis. The author then discusses the various methods used to study the origin of life, and finally, he presents his own conclusions.

The fifth part of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the various theories of the origin of life. It begins with a discussion of the theory of spontaneous generation, and then proceeds to a consideration of the theory of biogenesis. The author then discusses the various methods used to study the origin of life, and finally, he presents his own conclusions. The sixth part of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the various theories of the origin of life. It begins with a discussion of the theory of spontaneous generation, and then proceeds to a consideration of the theory of biogenesis. The author then discusses the various methods used to study the origin of life, and finally, he presents his own conclusions. The seventh part of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the various theories of the origin of life. It begins with a discussion of the theory of spontaneous generation, and then proceeds to a consideration of the theory of biogenesis. The author then discusses the various methods used to study the origin of life, and finally, he presents his own conclusions.





